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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

EXPECTATIONS AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE WILDERNESS TRAVEL EXPERIENCE

by

INGO HENTSCHEL

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT STUDIES.

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1988

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.....
Supervisor

.....

.....

Date: Nov. 30, 1987

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my family, for the way they have always let me lead my own life, yet have been there to help whenever it was needed, without having to be asked. I would especially like to dedicate this work to my mother who, at the age of sixty, has finally finished raising children and is now free to pursue some of her own interests. I hope that this thesis may in part repay her for the inspiration she has always provided me with, for the central part that the appreciation of the outdoors has always played in her own life.

ABSTRACT

This study examined the expectations a specific group of people had of a wilderness travel experience. The Explorations members' earliest expectations of the snowshoe expedition were quite vague, apparently being based on the strong, idealistic perceptions the Canadian "romantic wilderness" was seen to elicit. As the participants progressed through the program their expectations became more concise and precisely worded, in proportion to their increasing levels of experience.

The primary focus was on the ethnographic study of the group while they were travelling in a wilderness setting. The author travelled with the group, acting as a participant observer. The actions most characteristic of each participant were documented and examined, in order to determine the underlying expectations the respective behaviour patterns could be indicative of.

The observation of the subjects' behaviour was augmented by their responses to a pre-trip questionnaire, and a post-trip interview which focused on their evolving expectations. The information from these three sources was amalgamated to develop a profile of expectations of the wilderness travel experience specific to each individual.

Literature relating to motivations to recreate in wilderness settings was then reviewed, in order to establish a theoretical framework whereby the individual

profiles could be examined and explained. Ten major categories of motivations to travel in wilderness emerged, with nine of these categories being primary motivators for the ten subjects.

Of the ten travellers in this group one had a primary focus on the beauty of the environment, one on the release of tension, one on introspection, two on experiencing nature, one on companionship, one on predictability, one on achievement, one on a mix between beauty and companionship, and one on a combination of achievement, tension release and appreciation of beauty. Additional expectations which appeared to be important were the need for personal freedom, and the desire to explore. The individuals were seen to have a primary interest in one or two of these areas, but they were motivated to fulfil needs from all the aforementioned constructs during the course of the experience. The wilderness appeared to be conducive to a variety of experiences within the group.

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I would like to thank my brother York and sister Anka who were there at four o'clock in the morning to spur me on when I had a deadline to meet. Without their help I would not have been able to finish when I did.

Most of all I would like to acknowledge the continued support of my advisor, Dr. Harvey Scott: for his faith in my ability to complete this project, for his unobtrusive guidance, and for the freedom with which I was able go about my work.

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INTRODUCTION

It was during prolonged periods of absence from Canada, spent largely in heavily populated areas of central Europe, that this study was first conceived. The people I met during my travels: the Germans, French, English, Swiss, Austrians, Spaniards, New Zealanders, Australians and Japanese, despite their great diversity in backgrounds, all had one thing in common: they seemed to consider "Canada" and "Canadian Wilderness" as being synonymous. I had never really stopped to think about the Canadian wilderness too much before, although I had spent my entire life enjoying Canada's outdoors from Ontario to British Columbia. My travels abroad awoke within myself a greater appreciation of and interest in the Canadian wilderness, culminating in this study on the expectations of wilderness travellers.

I first became aware of the great interest Europeans have in the Canadian wilderness during my second visit to Germany, from age eleven to thirteen. I was treated as a visitor from a mystic land. Everyone from classmates to teachers, from close relatives to fleeting acquaintances, wanted to know something about "Kanada". Most of the questions I fielded dealt with some aspect of the wilderness, focusing on the incredible distances, the sparse population, the wide open spaces, the wildlife, the immense forests, the lakes and rivers, the great plains, the Rocky Mountains, the Indians, and the

powerful elements, especially the cold and snow of the legendary Canadian winter.

The responses I gave to the myriad of questions I was bombarded with, based on my life experiences, served to further verify the ideal position my listeners had awarded the Canadian environment. The experiences I was able to recount brought to life some of the popular Jack London stories and Karl May novels my new-found acquaintances were so fond of. My parents had emigrated from Germany following World War II, to assume a nomadic lifestyle in northern Ontario, with my father roaming about to find work at logging and mining camps. My earliest recollections were of the country west of James Bay where I was born, of entire summers spent on the shores of Lake Huron while my father worked nearby, of swimming in the lakes and streams, climbing on the rocky shores, and running through the forests of the Great Canadian Shield. Then, after the tragic, untimely death of my father, there was the trek across the great plains to the foothills of the magnificent Rocky Mountains, where our young family joined with a family of native Albertans. Anything I could tell my European friends about this family seemed to read straight out of a western novel. My stepfather's parents had come northwest from the Dakotas in a wagon train to carve a homestead out of the Albertan foothills with their fifteen as yet unborn sons and daughters. Their life

story was that of a true pioneer family, from the wagon train to the homestead to my stepfather's youth spent working as a cowboy on Alberta's early ranches.

My true accounts of the land I had lived in and travelled through: from the Canadian Shield across the great plains to the Rocky Mountains; of the two train trips I had made alone across Canada in grades four and five, each taking four days and three nights of continuous travel; of being snowbound for days, even weeks at a time, unable to attend school during midwinter blizzards; of my brothers shooting lynx, coyotes, bobcats, deer, rabbits, grouse, geese and ducks within a few hundred meters of our house; of our nearest neighbour being three, the nearest real city over one hundred and thirty kilometers away; all seemed to confirm what my eager listeners already believed to be true about their idealised "Kanada".

My grade seven and eight classmates quickly embellished my accounts, to better match the Canadian mystique. Soon I was carrying a rifle to school to ward off famished wolves, coyotes, lynx and bear, fighting my way through deep drifts and raging blizzards. The toughest kid from another grade seven class challenged me to some schoolyard fisticuffs one day, but quickly switched to an animated discussion, without any loss of face, upon being made aware I was "the Canadian". Being a Canadian, I was no longer seen as a personal challenge;

I was the welcome bearer of knowledge about a land that was perceived as being truly wonderful and wild.

On subsequent stays in Europe, at ages eighteen, twenty-one and twenty-six, of close to one year duration each, I became ever more aware of the ideal position awarded the Canadian wilderness. This was, quite understandably, true of people who had spent significant portions of their lives outdoors, but it also seemed to be the case with those who had experienced life only within the great European population centers. One such urban creature, a young car salesman who had spent his entire life in the densely populated, industrial "Ruhr" area of western Germany, shared his greatest dream with me: a six week holiday travelling in the Canadian wilderness. The manner in which this young urban creature described his ideal vacation was remarkably similar to the aspirations expressed by a seventy-five year old Bavarian "Jagdmeister" (Master of the Hunt), returning to Canada for his fourth major hunting expedition. The only apparent difference in the two proposed wilderness experiences was in the detail with which the Jagdmeister could illustrate his expectations, based on the wealth of experience he had accumulated during his wilderness oriented life. It appears as though the Canadian wilderness enjoys a special position, an idealised state, in the perception of veteran and novice wilderness enthusiasts alike.

During my last sojourn in Europe, six months of travel following completion of my Bachelor of Physical Education degree, I became especially interested in wilderness and wilderness life. The positive attitude toward wilderness apparent in so many of the people I was meeting, the universally great interest in the Canadian wilderness, served to raise my own curiosity about my native environment. I became so intrigued that I resolved to learn more about the wilderness, especially the Canadian wilderness, and about the people who choose to spend time travelling in this environment.

Upon returning from Europe I re-enrolled at the University of Alberta, where I engaged in an intensive six month period of study, adding certification in the Outdoor Route to my Bachelor of Physical Education degree. I also began to study the concept of wilderness, as I was planning to complete a masters degree program specialising in wilderness travel. First I read several good books on wilderness appreciation and perception, the best among them probably Roderick Nash's "Wilderness and the American Mind" (1982), to establish a theoretical framework whereby to study the underlying expectations people might have of wilderness travel. Then I began to examine the Canadian wilderness, quickly becoming aware of the role it appears to have played in the evolution of our Canadian culture. I found that the wilderness has played a dominant role in the history of both Canadian

art and literature. The manner in which the Canadian environment has been portrayed in these two media could in part explain the international reputation Canada enjoys as representing the ideal "romantic wilderness".

The great interest in wilderness recreation I had become aware of in Europe was soon substantiated in the literature I was reading. Respected authorities such as Stankey (1972), Lucas (1974), Merriam and Knopp (1979) and Nash (1982) had documented a rapid rise in the use of North American wilderness for recreational purposes. One site that stood out in particular was Colorado's Grand Canyon, where visitation statistics have been kept since before the turn of the century. From 1869 to 1950 a total of 77 people travelled the Colorado river through the Grand Canyon, an average of less than one per year. In 1962 this number increased to 372, after which it skyrocketed to 1,067 in 1966, 6,019 in 1969, and 16,428 in 1972 (Nash, 1982:271). Today one must be prepared to wait for several years to enjoy the privilege of paddling through the Grand Canyon.

The Grand Canyon is unique in that it is a national symbol in the United States, with much of the increase in visitation due to the publicity surrounding the damming controversy of the early 1960's. The incredible number of people who visit this site each year have greatly reduced its status as wilderness , but its popularity is nonetheless indicative of a broader, more universal

increase in the use of wilderness for recreational purposes.

The theoretical study of wilderness and its growing use for recreational purposes was quite interesting, but I was more inclined toward experiential learning. I began to participate more in outdoor activities, joining the over one million Albertans who go camping each year (Alberta Recreation and Parks, 1985:3). The majority of these campers are however concentrated in easily accessable campgrounds, while I was more interested in the growing number who were engaging in backcountry experiences. I spent the rest of the winter improving my outdoor living and travelling skills, so that I would be capable of observing these wilderness travellers in their natural setting.

The following August I became involved in the University of Alberta Explorations program, a wilderness travel program offered to senior outdoor education students. For the next two years I acted as graduate assistant to the Explorations program, accompanying the respective groups on extended snowshoe, ski and canoe expeditions in wilderness areas of western Canada. Before my initial journeys I had begun to form some ideas about wilderness travel, but I was not yet looking for anything specific. I was still a novice; I had no definite expectations, only a vivid, romantic perception of self propelled travel in the "Great White North".

CHAPTER 1

A WILDERNESS TRAVEL EXPERIENCE

In mid-January our van, travelling along a gravel road in northwestern Saskatchewan, pulled to a halt, my companions scraping the windows to get a better view of the faint snowmobile trail running off to the west. The doors opened and all twelve of us disembarked, stretching the stiffness of a long ride in cramped quarters out of our bodies. We then unloaded ten toboggans and one small plastic "pulk", and proceeded to pile a wide assortment of equipment and supplies onto them: two wall tents complete with airtight aluminum woodstoves, axes, saws, shovels, an ice auger, a single sideband radio with its forty meters of cable antenna, several duffle bags containing over six hundred pounds of food, and the assorted personal effects and clothing necessary for a one month wintertime wilderness expedition. The equipment was securely fastened to the toboggans, while the first aid kits and the food for the day were tied to the pulk. The van and trailer were turned around, no small accomplishment on the narrow road between the high snow walls; our driver took one last group picture, said his goodbyes, and disappeared to the south in a cloud of snow.

The remaining eleven people: six young women, four other young men and myself, looked at each other, the impact of the moment clear on all our faces. There went

our last contact with civilisation. The initial sinking feeling was quickly replaced with one of exhilaration as our focus shifted to the upcoming adventure. We were to spend the next twenty-six days retracing a little known voyageur route from Buffalo Narrows in Saskatchewan to Fort McMurray in Alberta, a total distance of three hundred and fifty kilometers. We had spent countless hours planning this expedition. We knew what Peter Fidler, the first to survey this route, had experienced in 1791, but his had been a summertime expedition; ours no doubt would face much harsher conditions. We knew the general lay of the land from Fidler's logbooks and from the maps we had studied, but some of the area we were to travel through had never been mapped in detail. Even today only a few isolated trappers and Indians venture into this land; only one small Indian village, at Garson Lake, lay on our route. We were about to experience true wilderness, with nothing but our own resources to sustain us, under potentially extreme weather conditions, yet everyone's face mirrored the same feeling: eager anticipation. Without further ado we harnessed the toboggans and set off along the hardpacked snowmobile track.

The first stretch of the trail, which was, judging by the fox traps we spotted, part of a trapline, was well sheltered by tall pine and spruce on both sides, but we could see the trees swaying as the wind picked up.

The ominous black cloud front to the northwest was moving closer, we could feel a definite chill in the air. As we broke free of the trees on the edge of Peter Pond Lake the full impact of the wind hit us. The temperature was a balmy -15^{0}C, but the brisk wind initially took our breaths away. We took our bearings, and headed across a small bay toward a point to the northwest, directly into the wind.

The strong wind we were encountering seemed to be the prevailing wind of this region, as evidenced by the markings on the windswept crust of hard snow on the lake. The wind however was also a blessing in disguise, the crust making travel very easy; we could afford to leave the snowshoes on the toboggans for a while yet. It was not until later, as we approached the lee shore of the point to set up our camp for the night, that we began to break through, with our heavily laden toboggans digging into the softer snow.

The especially hard work of the last kilometer quickly made itself felt. I for one had definitely broken into a sweat. As we unloaded the toboggans and began setting up our tents I quickly cooled off. Within minutes my windbreaker had become a solid layer of ice on my back, draining off vital body heat. I immediately took off my windbreaker and the rest of my upper garments, replacing them with dry clothing and my down parka. I made a mental note to be more careful with my

heat regulation in the future, taking off layers as I warmed up, so as to reduce the potential of dangerous moisture buildup in my clothing. On this first day it had not seemed as though it was necessary to adjust my clothing very much; it was the last hard push that had caused the sudden overheating, catching my companions and myself unaware.

Our first camp was quickly set up, with everyone pitching in to set up the tents, cook supper and cut firewood for the night. This was to become our routine for the next twenty-five evenings: a good push in the late afternoon to maximize the mileage for the day, then a sharing of the camp duties. Two people were in charge of cooking, three more immediately gathered firewood, started a cooking fire, and continued to cut short pieces of wood for our two "airtight" stoves, while the other six divided into two groups to set up the two wall tents. Once the tents were up the tent crews assisted in firewood collection, as everyone's comfort depended on an adequate overnight supply of fuel. On this first night, as well as the rest of the expedition, everyone just pitched in where it was necessary. There was no formal duty roster except for the cook crew, which was predetermined each day. The cooks were given the benefit of total relief from all other duties, as the cooking and cleaning of the cooking utensils took up the most time of any camp chores.

We ate outside on our first overnight, then we retired to our respective tents. The warmth of the woodstoves was welcomed, as the outside temperature was continuing to drop. The first night it was difficult to fall asleep, due in part to our unfamiliar surroundings, but mainly due to the excitement of finally being underway, of actually beginning to live the experience we had planned.

Eventually everyone fell asleep, to dream his or her own dreams, except for the person responsible for maintaining the fire. Whenever this person slept through the critical point the fire would have to be restarted rather than just stoked, which made for a much greater effort as well as loss of comfort, as the unfortunate soul would have to leave the warmth of his or her sleeping bag. Most of us quickly learnad to nap for less than two hour periods while we were responsible for stoking the fire. Most of us also learned to regulate our bodily functions, so as to minimize night-time wandering in the cold. I was able to make it through the entire expedition without once having to leave my sleeping bag during the night, a record much envied by those who were more frequently awakened by an insistent call of nature.

Our first night on the trail was uneventful, and we woke up to a cold morning. It was most difficult to force ourselves out of the warm sleeping bags, but we

eventually did so, stepping outside to face the elements. The temperature had continued to plummet overnight, dipping to -32^{0}C by morning, with the wind shifting so it was now blowing strongly from the south. We dumped the coals out of our stoves to start a fire, and began breaking camp. Stuffing the sleeping bag was probably the coldest part of the morning. The body had not started to generate its own heat, the nylon quickly supercooled the hands, and there was the psychological impact of leaving this warm cocoon and packing it away for the day.

This first morning we had a slow start. We were up at 8:30 and had a quick breakfast of hot cereal, but were not on the trail until high noon. The late start was to be expected as we had not previously set our snowshoes up, and were not really sure how the equipment would best be distributed on the toboggans.

By 12:00 we had everything sorted out, and hit the trail. We continued along the northeast shore of Peter Pond Lake, cutting across from point to point to save time and distance. We were about four kilometers out, equidistant from the shore and the next point, when everyone started to feel hungry, and a lunch stop was called. Due to our late start the general consensus was that we should not waste time going to shore and starting a fire, we would have a cold lunch on the lake. We built our toboggans up to form a wind shelter and broke out the

pita bread and sausage. While we were stopped I had my first real experience with the numbing effect of hypothermia, brought on by the exposure to the extremely cold south wind. I was feeling uncomfortably chilled, but I had not even bothered to put on my parka, as this was to be just a short pause, following which we would soon be underway again. I took a portion of pita bread, grabbed the sausage, and tried to cut off some slices. To my consternation I did not have the manual dexterity to hold my knife in one hand, the sausage in the other, and cut slices. One of my companions came to my rescue, fixing up a sandwich, but once again the environment had given me a clear warning to respect the cold.

On the first two days of our expedition I had experienced the two extremes, overheating and overcooling, and their results. I was fortunate enough to have been part of a group, with my companions being able to come to my assistance. Had I been alone I am sure the consequences of the second experience, the overcooling in the strong wind out on the frozen expanse of Peter Pond Lake, would have been much more severe. As it was I had experienced two valuable lessons in the first two days on the trail, two lessons which I would never forget. From that time on I was very aware of my temperature regulation, removing layers of clothing to let off heat during periods of exertion, replacing layers to retain heat during rest periods.

We did not quite achieve our goal this day, stopping short of the mouth of the La Loche River (formerly the Methye) to camp. Our camp was quickly set up, we ate a supper of macaroni and tuna, and prepared for bed. I had experienced a sore knee for most of the day, probably a result of repeatedly breaking through the thick crust toward the end of day one, and took time to ice it before going to sleep. The others quickly fell asleep, tired after the day's exertion in the cold.

While we were sleeping the temperature continued to drop, reaching a low of $-37^{0}C$ at about 5:00. By the time we crawled out of our tents at 9:00 the temperature had risen a good eight degrees, but it was still $-29^{0}C$. We were once again quite slow getting started, as we were not sure whether or not we were going to continue, largely due to my sore knee. The rest of the group proved to be very sympathetic. They even went so far as to suggest a rest day to give my knee time to recuperate, but after a little stretching I felt I could continue, and we were once again underway by 11:30.

We were the beneficiaries of a strong tailwind from the southeast, which assisted us in arriving at the La Loche River by 14:00. At this point our group historian enlightened us with some interesting information about Fidler and Turner meeting up with Alexander MacKenzie on the very spot where we were standing. MacKenzie recommended that Fidler take another route than the

traditional Methye-Clearwater portage, due to the scarcity of game he had experienced along this established passage. Fidler and Turner took his advice, following the Kimowin and Garson rivers over the watershed to the west, a route they found to be too circuitous, too long to be of any real value compared to the Methye (La Loche) portage. We were about to follow in their footsteps, retracing their path over Garson Lake to the Newby and Christina rivers, and thence to Fort McMurray.

We could quite vividly picture the meeting of these two parties, way back in 1791, visions which were further enhanced by the discovery of several ancient cabins and a small cemetery just up the river. While there were no epitaphs on the markers, we could imagine any variety of disasters that could have resulted in these fifteen graves. The somewhat solemn frame of mind brought on by the discovery of the cemetery and by the historic significance of this area, which had been one of the most famous of all the furtrading routes, lasted but a short time. Soon we were once again our normal highspirited selves, enjoying the beautiful weather which brought the temperature soaring to $-8^{0}C$. We ate our lunch in the sunshine near the cabins, then continued north along the La Loche River.

We stopped for the night about 6 kilometers up the La Loche river. Our camp setup was the most efficient to

date. We took advantage of the warm weather to modify one of our stoves, taking out the oven portion so that it could be filled with more wood, and to clean up a bit. The girls especially seemed interested in removing some of the accumulated grime, as all of them washed their hair. I also took advantage of the great weather to stargaze in the clear night. Some of my companions who were more well versed in astronomy joined me, assisting me in identifying several new constellations. We felt very relaxed when we went to bed, looking forward to the next day of travel.

On our fourth day we experienced weather that was almost too warm for snowshoeing. While it was $-22^{0}C$ at 7:30 the temperature quickly rose, reaching $-5^{0}C$ by midafternoon. We also experienced our first open water. We were forced to pick our way around the open patches over ice bridges, which proved to be quite a challenge. At one minor creek confluence we encountered great difficulty due to there being water between two layers of ice. I crashed through the first layer and floundered about for a while before extricating myself, my snowshoes weighing at least fifty pounds each. My toboggan also tipped, and was quite iced up, as was that of another traveller who had experienced the same fate as myself.

We scraped off the toboggans, cleaned the snowshoes and continued along this interesting stretch of river. Shortly thereafter we were forced to portage a stretch of

completely open water. The portage was tough. We had to drag the toboggans up the three meter high bank, then through an area cleared by beaver, covered with stumps and willow thickets, and back down to the river. Our toboggans often snagged, one snowshoe was broken, and tempers were on edge for the first time. Once we were back travelling on the river everyone calmed down considerably, especially when our focus shifted to a trapper's camp set up near the river. There was a double wall tent, similar to ours, but much heavier, with a large wood stove and several drying racks. We decided to call it a day, and set up our tents.

We were on the river early the next morning, leaving the trapper some candy and tobacco as thanks for the use of his campsite. Shortly afterward we came upon the junction with the Kimowin river, where we turned to the west. The first stretch of river was open, so we climbed the north bank and followed a snowmobile track we discovered there. We ended up following this track for about five kilometers, as it was too difficult to try to make our way back to the river through the dense underbrush. Travelling through the bush we saw a wide variety of animal tracks that we had not noticed on the river. We also saw several snares along the track, which we carefully circumnavigated. The first opportunity we had we returned to the river, as we did not want to disturb the trapline more than necessary.

For the next several hours we cruised through a world of our own, three to four meters wide, with banks two to three meters high, and willow and alder growing thickly along the top of the banks. It was as though we were travelling along a constantly winding tunnel, bordered by the banks and shrubs on both sides. The Kimowin river did not seem to have changed much since 1791, when Peter Fidler described it as being "a remarkably crooked river, about twenty feet wide, with high banks topped by shrubbery" (Fidler, 1791). The river was truly crooked; it was difficult to maintain one's sense of distance or direction due to the constant meander bends. I climbed to the top of the bank several times, but there were absolutely no distinguishable landmarks, just more shrubs and the occasional stand of pine and spruce. There was however no chance of getting lost, so we just put our heads down and plowed along the river bed, through the one meter deep snow that had accumulated on the ice.

After we had covered about ten kilometers along this twisting river we came upon an idyllic campsite, beneath some jack pines in an old burn area up on the river bank. We set up camp, discovering that the trapline ran close by to the north, and had a special treat for supper: cured ham steak and chuck steak. It felt good to eat something that had to be chewed, as most of our meals to date could have been eaten through a straw. After supper we tried to pinpoint our location, but it

was almost impossible to say exactly where we were. We decided we would know soon enough once we arrived at the Garson river confluence, which would be sometime during the next day.

Early the next morning we held a quick conference, and decided we could save time by following the trapline for a while, rather than winding back and forth on the river. We followed the trail for about six kilometers, during which we were treated to a lot of hard work, pulling our toboggans up and down short but steep hills and gullies. The scenery was beautiful, and we again discovered a variety of wildlife tracks. The animals could easily hear us coming, and had no problem avoiding us, so we never actually saw any while we were travelling. The tracks however definitely indicated that there was abundant wildlife about.

After slugging it out along the trapline for several hours we welcomed the sight of the river once again. We descended to it, and followed it to a point just past the Garson river confluence. There we set up camp for the night and the next day, which was a scheduled rest day. We pushed through until 18:00, later than usual, because we wanted to find the perfect campsite for our rest day. The site we finally selected was nice, but nowhere near as beautiful as that of the previous night. We quickly set up our camp and had a more mundane meal, after which we cleaned up and soon went to bed.

Day seven was our first rest day. Most of us slept in for a while, but we were all still up by 10:00. Some of us were treated to breakfast in bed by the earlier risers. The previous evening there had been some concern expressed about our exact whereabouts. We had not really been sure of our location since we started following the meandering Kimowin river, and had pushed hard toward the Garson River confluence, the first easily distinguishable landmark. With this definite goal in mind we were highly motivated, and two of us ended up breaking away from the rest for a while, frequently rotating the trail breaking position to maintain our quick pace. As everyone began to tire late in the day we had grouped up again, but had continued to push hard toward our goal for the day. When dusk set in we started to look for a good campsite, but could not immediately locate one. In searching for a suitable camp we had drifted south across the river flats, and had actually bypassed the Garson confluence. The river flats were covered with deep snow, we had probably mistaken the Garson river for another of the many oxbows we were crossing. I had however recognized three small ponds as we passed them, and felt certain that we were now camped just west of the Garson river on the Kimowin.

After breakfast I set up the antenna for the radio. While I was up in a tree the required height of eight meters I scanned the valley to the north with a pair of

binoculars. Through the opaque shroud of lightly falling snow I was able to discern the faint outline of a valley leading off to the north, on exactly the bearing I expected to find the Garson confluence. During the day two of our group members went for a snowshoe sprint to the northeast, without their heavy loads, to verify whether this was indeed the Garson river. For the rest of the day we cleaned up some clothing, performed necessary repairs on our equipment, attempted to build a steambath and a shower, went for exploratory walks, and attempted to contact our liaison at the University of Alberta. It was definitely an active rest day, which was to be expected considering the character of our group.

At suppertime we had our first group debriefing. We concentrated on our goals and objectives, our present rate of progress, and general group morale. Our conclusions were that we should have more group cohesiveness on the trail, that there be more group input in decision making, and that there be more group involvement in navigation. We also concluded that we needed to be more organised in the mornings so that we could have a better start, and that we should rotate leaders, which would benefit our group cohesiveness. Most importantly our individual and group morale was still high, and our objectives were still in sight.

I was partly to blame for the feeling that we were lacking cohesiveness, and that there was not enough group

input into navigation and other decisions. I had been enjoying myself immensely, part of that enjoyment derived from just going as hard as possible on the trail. This resulted in myself and one or two other members often being ahead of the rest, breaking trail, which in turn left the others out as far as route selection went. We were also running late, so I had been pushing as hard as I could to try to get back on schedule, without worrying about consulting the others too often. To this point there had however not been much need for route selection, as we had been following very distinct rivers. Having the group debriefing at this time was a good idea, as we were still highly motivated, and could easily effect the minor adjustments necessary to make everyone happy.

In the morning we tried the radio one more time, with the same lack of success we had experienced both times before. The antenna was taken down, packed up, and we hit the trail again. We were well rested after our day off, and got a good start up the Garson river. We rotated the lead often, with everyone going hard breaking trail until tiring, then stepping out to join back in at the end of the group. This system worked well, we covered about six kilometers by lunchtime. After lunch our progress slowed considerably, as we began to run into three major obstacles: rotten ice despite far colder temperatures than the past few days, deeper snow, and a multitude of beaver dams. The deep snow made travel

arduous throughout. The mushy sections were difficult to circumnavigate, and the beaver dams required a great deal of energy expenditure, as the toboggans had to be pulled up and over every dam. The ice near each dam was generally very weak, which made pulling the toboggans over them that much more strenuous, both physically and psychologically.

At about 16:00 our current leader broke through the ice past her knees, which was quite dangerous considering the temperature had dropped to about -25^{0}C. We started a fire to dry her clothing and warm her up, then decided to set up our camp, as it was almost that time anyway. To date we had experienced no problems with our firewood, but this was to be a bad night. We were in real muskeg country, where the only wood available was very moist black spruce. It worked quite well in an open fire, but simply would not burn in our stoves. With no source of heat and the temperature back down around -35^{0}C we were forced to test the limits of our sleeping bags.

We all managed to survive the night, although we were a little stiff and slow moving in the morning. We were however on the trail by 9:30, to start a day of really heavy sledding. There were more meanders, more deep snow and beaver dams, and much more rotten ice. Three of us broke through in succession, although none of us were soaked today. I managed to break one skipole and tear the strap on the other trying to work my way out of an

ice hole with my ninety-five pound snowshoes. It was interesting that there was so much rotten ice, as the temperature never rose above -30^{0}C all day. There seemed to be some sort of salt leeching out of the banks onto the ice, which was causing it to deteriorate. We could all feel the effects of the day's exertion, with the extreme cold also helping to drain our energy. As we were preparing for bed we noticed a halo around the moon, an indicator of even colder temperatures to come.

Day 10: the coldest day yet. We woke to -44^{0}C, which made it very difficult to get started. We packed up, loaded our toboggans, and tied on our snowshoes with stiff fingers, then set out in the crystal cold air. Once we were moving we found it was not unbearable, it was the initial movement that required the greatest determination.

We set off along the river, which was now often difficult to distinguish from the surrounding countryside, especially upriver of the ever more numerous beaver dams. I really enjoyed my time in the lead during the day. It was a great challenge picking a way through the stretches of rotten ice, the many little rapids, and the thin ice and open areas below each beaver dam. We made it through the worst of the bad ice by 14:30, after which we had extremely deep snow to contend with. By the time we camped everyone was exhausted; it had been a good effort by everyone, a great day on the trail.

Day 11: hard to believe, but it was even colder than day ten. The night before it was -45^{0}C and dropping, with our familiar halo around the moon a portent of even worse things to come. In the morning the mercury in our thermometer was curled up in a tiny little ball in the very bottom of the bulb, which meant it was at least -55^{0}C. Once we were aware of the temperature everyone immediately clustered around the fire, the better to absorb the psychological impact of this outlandish figure. We were however able to cope with the temperature much better than our thermometer, which was never quite the same afterward. The mercury never moved until I held the thermometer close to the fire for several minutes, and even then it would not move very readily. From that point on we were not able to fully trust the readings of this instrument; the mercury did not seem to want to expand properly anymore, or the bulb itself may have been damaged.

Fortunately there was no appreciable wind, otherwise the cold would have been unbearable. Even the still air had a definite bite to it. We had to be careful not to overexert ourselves, as any deep breath was accompanied by a searing pain. After the initial shock we however found that we could go about our regular activities without any undue problem, a tribute to how well we had become acclimatised to the cold. We loaded up our equipment, reluctantly extinguished the fire, and started

down the river. At first our movements were quite hesitant, then, as we began to cover ground, there was an increase in confidence apparent with each step. Soon the downcast expressions were replaced with smiles when we made eye contact with each other. Heads came up and backs straightened. We had faced the worst, had dealt with it, and were now moving along quite comfortably. For the rest of the trip it did not matter that our thermometer had become defective, the exact temperature was no longer terribly significant. We had experienced and coped with a temperature so extreme that most of us could hardly have imagined it before. We had been tested; cold temperatures would never again have an overly disruptive effect on any of our actions.

Travel at this stage would however have been difficult even under much more ideal weather conditions. The snow was very deep, and there were once again many stretches of rotten ice. Our boosted confidence helped, but movement along this section of the river was very arduous. The constant strain was beginning to show its effects. Several of us were starting to sniffle with oncoming colds, we had one case of tonsillitis, several sore knees, and one girl with an acute case of the infamous "MAL DE RAQUET" [tenosynovitis of the tibialis anterior]. She could no longer move with snowshoes on; we were most fortunate to have a pair of skis along that she could travel on with less discomfort.

We had experienced tough sledding since the beginning of the Kimowin river, and especially since we started up the Garson. We had never been able to cover more than eight to ten kilometers in a day, rather than our projected daily distance of fifteen kilometers. The projected distance was further based on insufficiently detailed maps, which did not show nearly the distance the rivers travelled around the never ending meander bends. We calculated that for every ten kilometers shown on our maps the Garson and Kimowin rivers actually flowed some fifteen kilometers. As a result we were significantly behind schedule, despite our best efforts to cover as much distance as possible each day. It was quickly becoming apparent that we would have to shorten our route if we were to finish on time, and within the limits imposed by our food supplies.

For the moment we continued, as we could do nothing to change our route until after we had reached Garson Lake. The next two days we travelled well, with temperatures hovering around the -40^0C mark in the mornings, climbing to -30^0C in the afternoons. On day thirteen an RCMP plane flew overhead, circling to let us know it had spotted us. It seems that there had been some consternation as to our whereabouts, since we were four days late reaching Garson Lake, and because we had not contacted our liaison during the first thirteen days, due to the difficulty we had experienced with the radio.

The RCMP plane had set out to trace our route, finding us very close to our destination. The sight of the plane gave us that little bit of extra motivation and we fairly flew along the next four kilometers, until we encountered a corduroy bridge across the river. From the bridge we followed a well travelled snowmobile track across country the last three kilometers in to Garson Lake. We pulled in at 15:30, to be met by some dogs, several Indian children, and the local schoolteacher.

For the rest of day thirteen and day fourteen, our second scheduled rest stop, we stayed in Garson Lake. The Indian children got over their initial shyness enough to come to our camp to watch us set up, cook our supper and eat. They were however impossible to talk to until we let them use our pulk to go for wild rides behind their dogs. They accepted us more readily then, and the ice was broken even more when we visited the one room schoolhouse on the invitation of the schoolteacher, to talk about our expedition.

In Garson Lake we were exposed to a culture that was totally new to us. The teachers, a husband and wife team from Newfoundland, explained that they taught anywhere from one to thirty-two children, ranging from preschool to grade seven. The children, who spoke Chipeweyan and some English, were a mix of treaty, non-treaty and Metis The Indians were quite nomadic; it was never possible to predict how many would be in town on a given day.

Sometimes the parents just wandered out on their own, leaving the children behind to be cared for by others in the band.

It was with tremendous interest that we observed and spoke with the natives and the teaching team, who were a veritable storehouse of information during the day and a half we spent in Garson Lake. I took the opportunity to speak with some of the older Indians personally, as well as through the interpretation of the teacher. I was surprised to learn that the adults, who were mostly trappers, felt that the young Indians would never be able to survive in the wild. It seems that we were witnessing a culture in transition; the youths were obviously not ready to be part of modern white society, but were apparently not capable of supporting themselves in the traditional ways.

While we were in Garson Lake we attempted to use our radio one more time, to contact our liaison person at the University of Alberta. We had no luck again, but we were able to get through on the teachers' radio, which was connected to a greater external power source. Everything seemed to be going quite well, except that we were forced to inform our contact that we were going to have to cut off a portion of our proposed route: the Newby river system.

Due to our rather limited food supply, we had decided to take a cutoff route along a winter road from Garson

Lake to the Christina Crossing, where we had previously cached two hundred pounds of food for the last portion of our expedition. On day 15 we loaded up our last two days of food, bid the inhabitants of Garson Lake farewell, and started off along the winter road. It appeared as though the entire group wanted to compensate for the disappointment of having to alter the route by travelling as quickly as possible along the cutoff. We pushed ourselves hard, put in a long day, and covered the thirty-three kilometers to Christina Crossing by midnight. It was a long, hard day, but an inspirational one; we had set ourselves a very difficult goal, and were able to achieve it. This put us right back on schedule, so we slept in the next morning, broke out the food cache, ate well, and distributed the new supplies.

For the next four days we travelled along the Christina river. The Christina was practically a highway compared with the Garson, Kimowin and La Loche rivers. While there was still considerable effort required to pull the toboggans through the deep snow there were no beaver dams, and the ice was much harder. There were however a few spots where the ice was soft enough to cause problems, and several rapids which provided a definite element of danger, as there were patches of very thin ice and swiftly flowing, deep open water.

The scenery along this portion of the route was very beautiful. The great sweeping curves, the ridges and

hills running in to the river, the steeply cut banks with their exposed patches of oozing bitumen, and the many signs of wildlife served to make this a highly enjoyable portion of the expedition. The much easier conditions also allowed us to achieve our daily objective of travelling fifteen kilometers, which we had not been able to do earlier during our journey. The picture of our single file of toboggans cutting a deep track through the pristine snow, with the group members dwarfed by the high hills in the background, every detail highlighted by the brilliant sunshine, will stay with me forever.

On the twenty-first day of our expedition we reached the confluence of the Christina and Clearwater rivers. We were now travelling on a snowmobile "highway", and could hear the first sounds of civilisation over the high banks: automobile traffic along a road, and several working oil wells. The first visible sign, outside of the snowmobile tracks and the winter road, appeared shortly after we started down the Clearwater: a helicopter landed on the track in front of us, and two RCMP officers stepped out. It was quite impressive seeing the helicopter come down to land, and watching the two officers emerge from it. At the same time it was depressing, as this human contact definitely foretold the end of our wilderness experience.

Over the next two days we had an easy haul into Fort McMurray. We did not even have to wear our snowshoes, as

the snowmobile track was so well packed that our boots and mukluks did not sink in at all. On our last evening we camped within two kilometers of Fort McMurray. Supper was a solemn occasion, as we were all aware that this was to be our last night on the trail. Our good humour however quickly came through again, as we all crowded into one tent to take our last group pictures.

The next morning we took our time getting started, as we were to all intents and purposes finished with our expedition. It was at this point, almost within sight of our destination, that we had one of our most serious disagreements of the entire journey. We had originally planned on finishing at the wharves in downtown Fort McMurray. I had wanted to continue to the fort itself, about two kilometers further downstream, as I felt this endpoint had the greatest cultural significance. The MacKenzie Park Inn, where we had been promised accomodation for the night, was however three kilometers to the south of Fort McMurray's riverfront, which meant we would have to backtrack from either the wharves or the fort. Since we had no vehicle at our disposal we would have to drag our toboggans back along the paved streets, an unjust fate for these "beasts of burden" that had served us so well.

We perused our maps, had a quick discussion, and decided to leave the river at the southern edge of town, cutting across country over a high hill and steep valley

to the hotel. I was disappointed by our decision, but I consoled myself by thinking that no voyageur would travel past the endpoint of his journey, his accomodations, only to retrace his steps. Once again logic had won out over romanticism.

I thought we had reached group consensus, but once we had left the river on our revised route it became apparent that several other members were experiencing at least the same disappointment in our decision that I was. Finishing at a more significant, more recognizable endpoint just seemed like the right way to end this journey. We had some fairly harsh words for the first time; our great expedition was in danger of finishing on a sour note.

We were however soon distracted from our shortlived little disagreement. There was more excitement in store for us as we left the river to make our way across country to the MacKenzie Park Inn. The route from the river to the hotel passed over a three hundred foot high hill, with a two hundred foot drop in between. This hill was possibly one of the toughest stretches of the entire journey. We worked hard on the way up, then jumped onto our toboggans to literally fly down the twisting trail on the other side. There were two sharp drops that caused us some difficulty. The first, about thirty feet, we slid down on the toboggans, while we had to fasten ropes to each toboggan and lower it eighty feet down the second

cliff, which was almost vertical. We were all in agreement that this was a most fitting ending to our expedition: a hard push on the way up, some excitement and pure fun on the way down, and some innovative work to drop the toboggans the last eighty feet. The effort on the way up, the sheer excitement on the way down, and the teamwork necessary to lower the toboggans down the last stretch put us right back into our customary positive frames of mind.

We had now completed our snowshoe expedition. At this point we were however still a wilderness travel group that had not yet really checked back into civilisation. We had planned and executed a twenty-six day snowshoe expedition through some of the most untouched, wild country imaginable, during which we had endured countless hardships and good times together. All of us had been deeply affected by the experience we had shared, nobody really wanted it to end. We savoured our last moments together with a round of handshakes and hugs, as we congratulated each other on a job well done. Then, in order to appease our resident "city slicker", who had been joking about little else since finding a wrapper blowing down the river two days earlier, we pulled our toboggans into the drive through at the MacDonalds Restaurant next to our hotel and ordered a round of hamburgers. On this comic note our process of reculturation into civilisation had begun.

CHAPTER 2

AN OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The Buffalo Narrows to Fort McMurray snowshoe expedition was a tremendous experience for all involved, but the experience as described was distinctly my own. I was having the time of my life. This was exactly what I had envisioned in a winter expedition in the Canadian North: deep snow; incredibly cold temperatures; a vast expanse of apparently untouched, beautiful wilderness; a mix between howling winds, cloudy skies and brilliant sunshine; really hard work; and great camaraderie. I was living moment to moment, enjoying every facet of this adventure, concentrating fully on the task at hand.

As my level of expertise improved, the day to day activities required less mental energy, although the physical exertion remained very high. My senses became attuned to the wilderness setting, and I found myself focusing more on the one item in the environment that was not always part of the "natural flow" of this wilderness experience: the travel group I was part of.

Events which highlighted discord within our group in particular caught my attention. During the big push along the winter road to Christina Crossing, which I had enjoyed so immensely, a major conflict occurred within the group. One of the members had been suffering from some very acute pain in her lower leg. She had struggled to keep up on a pair of skis for the previous few days,

while the rest of us had divided her load between us. She expressed great concern that she was not pulling her share, and insisted on doing so from time to time. After a short pull she would however be forced to give up, returning to the skis to avoid further aggravation to her injury. She wanted desperately to again contribute by pulling her own toboggan, but it was just not possible. The tension this was causing her was readily apparent.

By the time we reached the winter road she was ready to explode. The one day layover in Garson Lake had not been nearly long enough to allow her to recover from her muscle strain. To add insult to injury her beautiful fiberglass toboggan, which she had built herself, was being pulled by the one group member she had experienced a previous conflict with, a personal difference dating back to the early planning stages of the expedition. All of her current frustrations now focussed on him.

Things finally came to a head after we had covered about half of the distance along the winter road. We had been going at it quite hard, those of us in the front blissfully unaware that there were problems toward the rear. When we stopped for a break the pent up emotions suddenly let loose in quite a display of "fireworks". We had a good group discussion, and cleared the air before we continued, but an important point had been made clear: not everyone on our expedition was necessarily having an experience as positive as my own.

After this interlude my own focus shifted. I began to concentrate on my companions, observing them more closely, to determine what kind of an experience each individual within the group was having. I had been watching before, concentrating on logistical things such as people freezing up or becoming physically exhausted toward the end of a long day. We were functioning as a close-knit group with tremendous focus on our group goals and aspirations, but it quickly became apparent that there were actually a number of different expeditions taking place. Each participant was having an experience unique to him or herself within the group context.

The informal discussions I had with my companions during the rest of the expedition indicated that the variance between individual experiences was at least in part due to varying expectations. Each individual had a highly personal set of motivations to take part, a unique set of expectations of that particular wilderness travel experience. One of our members had expected to be engaging in a survival mode throughout. He expected to travel light, spending most of the nights out under a tarp, breaking camp at the crack of dawn and striking out for another day. Another group member had hoped to spend time studying the flora and fauna of the area we were travelling through. For her we were starting too early, and stopping too late, as there was never enough light to see anything when we were not busy travelling.

ON THE CONCEPT OF EXPECTATION

Significant differences in expectations apparently persisted despite the intense group planning that had taken place, especially during the last four months prior to the start of the expedition. Considerable time had been spent attempting to define individual and group goals and objectives; we had worked out what appeared to be a good compromise. Now it was becoming apparent that we had not really clarified the individual experience expectations within the group. It was also becoming apparent that it might be difficult to accurately verbalise expectations of an experience without the benefit of a number of previous similar experiences.

The only real problems that arose during our snowshoe expedition occurred when people's actual experiences differed too markedly from their expectations. The first minor dissension became apparent during the Kimowin rest day, when people spoke up about being left out of the decision making process. Everyone had expected to be involved in every facet of the the group leadership. Those who were having trouble keeping up were however being left out of the various choices and decisions that occur at the front of a travel group, such as route, campsite or rest stop selection. The discrepancy between what these people expected and what was actually happening caused enough tension for them to speak up about it, to let the others know they were not happy.

The first really major disruption occurred on the winter road to Christina Crossing. The person who precipitated this confrontation was definitely having trouble relating the actual experience to her previously formed expectations. She had expected to be an integral, contributing part of the travel group, enjoying the experience of travelling through a wilderness setting. Early in the trip she began to experience difficulties, first a cold that weakened her, then the problem with her leg that almost immobilised her. Her experience definitely was not compatible with her expectations. When the tension grew too strong to cope with she experienced her emotional outburst.

The next problem to arise concerned the changing of our route, when we decided to eliminate the Newby River system in order to reach our food cache in time. After we had arrived at Christina Crossing several group members felt that we had rushed into this decision. They had their hearts set on completing the entire route, and would have preferred to reprovision in Garson Lake, taking whatever extra time was required to complete the route. When we decided to cut across to the Christina River some of our group members experienced great difficulty adjusting, which became apparent during our next debriefing. Again, the problem centered around an experience that was incompatible with peoples' expectations; the primary goal for some seemed to be the

completion of the entire route, while others would rather adhere to the designated time schedule. The people who really wanted to finish the route lost a lot of their motivation at that point. One especially who had been one of the strongest leaders suddenly began to travel near the rear of the pack, where he stayed to the end of the expedition.

The third time there was any real dissension in the group was when we decided to leave the river early in Fort McMurray. Many of the group members had envisioned a really historic finish, at either the docks or the fort. When we left the river to cut across to the hotel these peoples' expectations were thwarted, and we had our most difficult moment of the entire journey. The people who experienced difficulty at that time momentarily lost much of the satisfaction of having completed this tremendous journey, as it had not reached an end point that was sufficiently significant to fulfil their expectations.

Expectations seem to play a very important role in determining whether or not an experience will be a success. Berger et al (1966:33) define expectations as being "beliefs about how actors with a given state of a given characteristic will behave in an appropriate situation." If the situation that one enters into is appropriate, if it is as one expected it to be, one's beliefs about how the experience will transpire will

remain unchanged. Should the situation be inappropriate one's expectations will be affected, depending on the degree to which the situation differs from that which was expected. The spot where we decided to leave the river upon reaching Fort Mcmurray was inappropriate in the perception of some of the more historically oriented travellers, which is why they experienced such difficulty coping with it. The appropriate situation for these people would have been to finish up at the old fort, or at the wharves. The culmination of the expedition was to take place at the appropriate end point; when this was bypassed the feeling of accomplishment that should have fulfilled everyone's expectations was simply not there.

Expectations are further based on one's self perception in relation to a particular situation, the "given state of a given characteristic" referred to by Berger et al (1966:33). The evaluation of one's ability in respect to a particular performance will determine one's expectation of that performance. A positive evaluation results in the belief that one will have a positive experience, while a negative evaluation results in the belief that the experience will be negative. The protagonist of the winter road incident was originally fit and well prepared, and believed she would enjoy the expedition. Her injury resulted in a negative evaluation of her ability, and it was apparent that she no longer expected her experience to be positive.

One last important characteristic concerning expectations is that they have a variable resistance to change. If they are based on a large number of trials they are very resistant to change, while they will change quite easily if they are based on very little actual experience [Foschi,1972]. People who have never engaged in a wilderness experience will have expectations that are based on quite nebulous perceptions of wilderness. These expectations will change quite readily as the traveller is immersed into the wilderness, as the "reality factor" asserts itself. As the traveller gains experience, expectations become progressively more resistant to change. An interesting notion in this regard is that experienced wilderness travellers are seen to be bothered far less by others appearing in their vicinity during a wilderness experience than novices are (Shelley, 1981:132). The novice's expectations are often based on idealistic perceptions, which are often unattainable in the real world. The veteran may be bothered by people encroaching on his feeling of isolation, but will react more positively as he knows that there have been other travellers there before, and there will be more later. Once the others have passed by, the veteran will quickly return to a feeling of being in wilderness, whereas the novice may have had the wilderness experience too badly tainted to recover as easily. Working with ideals as expectations allows little room for adaptation.

Expectations which are based on a great number of trials are extremely resistant to change, ultimately approaching zero order beliefs (Foschi, 1972). Zero order beliefs are the foundation for the entire cognitive system, they are central, fundamental beliefs which are extremely resistant to change (Heberlein, 1973). Expectations which fall into this category, such as the belief in one's sensory experience, are capable of withstanding negative experience evaluations, while less fundamental expectations may change following negative trials. A trapper who has spent a lifetime travelling through the bush and has always been able to start a fire instantly, may run into trouble once and have to try several times. He will be surprised, but he won't be worried because he knows it must have been a really strange set of events, a unique situation which has not happened before in twenty years and will likely not happen again for another twenty. The novice, who has completed a successful weekend course on fire lighting, and feels quite confident about his skill, on the other hand may fail once and see his confidence in his ability shattered.

People who have spent a great deal of time in wilderness settings will have strong beliefs about how they will perform in such a situation, and about the characteristics of the environment itself. They will be more able to cope with unexpected negative performances

and incursions into their wilderness than novices who must base their expectations on theoretical, often idealistic perceptions which are much less valid.

Expectations are beliefs about an upcoming series of events. They are situation dependent, with the effect the situation has on them depending on how appropriate it is. Expectations are resistant to change depending on the amount of experience they are based on; if they are based on a very large number of trials they may become part of an unshakable belief system. The perception of one's ability in respect to a specific situation will determine the evaluation one ascribes to the expectation of that situation, with one's expectation in turn determining the evaluation of the experience when viewed in retrospect (Berger et al, 1966).

Expectations are based on perceptions, on how one perceives the situation and oneself in respect to it. One's most important expectations are in turn seen as being the basis for one's motivations. The concepts of motivation, perception and expectation are all interrelated, with motivations being embodiments of one's important expectations (Absher and Lee, 1981), while expectations are dependent on the strength and validity of one's perceptions (Foschi, 1972; Heberlein, 1973). In order to properly study expectations of wilderness one must also examine perceptions of wilderness and motivations to enter into that wilderness.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Having witnessed the only real cases of dissension on the Buffalo Narrows to Fort McMurray snowshoe expedition, the issue of individual experience expectations within a wilderness travel group definitely seemed to be worthy of further examination. This study first consisted of informal discussions which were directed toward the underlying reasons people might have for travelling in wilderness settings. These discussions led to more formal questions and interviews, which all served to paint a partial picture of each individual's experience expectations. The images were however generally quite unclear. It was apparent that it could be difficult for people to accurately express their expectations before the start of an expedition, especially if their previous experience was limited. It seemed that it might even be difficult to express expectations while taking part in an experience. Two of the major problems that had arisen during the Buffalo Narrows trip resulted from decisions in which each group member had input. Some people seemed unable to relate their expectations clearly enough; they may not have realised how important certain aspects of the expeditions were to them until they actually experienced the loss of a feeling associated with a specific set of events. Prior to this they had been unable to convey the significance the fulfilment of these expectations held for them to the rest of the group.

The communication of one's expectations seemed to be quite difficult, although verbal and written descriptions appeared to be indicative of peoples' broader perceptions of a wilderness travel experience. I soon found that close observation of an individual's actions and expressions were the best indicator of that person's expectations of a particular experience. It may be difficult to write or verbalise specific, accurate expectations, although it is possible if one has a very clear perception of oneself within a particular situation, but people will always be motivated to fulfil their most important expectations. The clearest picture of a person's expectations should result from a detailed examination of his actions during the course of an activity, supplemented by answers to specific questions provided before the start and after the the completion of the experience.

The central purpose of this study was to describe the expectations a specific group of people had of a particular wilderness travel experience. The actions and expressions identified as being most characteristic of each individual were described by a participant observer travelling with the group, to illustrate the various experiences taking place. The focus was primarily on the actual experiences the participants were acting out, as their actions were considered to be indicative of their most important expectations.

The expectations the individuals comprising a specific group of wilderness travellers had of their experience were of primary interest to this study. The strong interrelationship evident between perceptions, expectations and motivations indicated that any study of expectations must also examine relevant perceptions and motivations. The expectations to be examined were based on the individuals' perceptions of the wilderness they wished to travel in. The motivations individuals might have to engage in wilderness experiences were also of particular interest, as motivations were considered to be the embodiments of one's most important expectations.

This study first examined literature relating to wilderness in general, and the Canadian wilderness in particular, in order to establish a broad base of wilderness perceptions upon which more specific expectations might be based. Of particular interest was the "Romantic Ideal", the image the Canadian wilderness appeared to enjoy on the international stage, and how this idealistic perception of the Canadian environment may have come to be.

The second step in the study involved the review of motivational literature, in order to provide a more concise theoretical framework which could assist in the explanation of the characteristics specific to each of the participants' wilderness travel experiences. The literature reviewed began with that pertaining to the

satisfaction of needs basic to man, followed by the study of motivations to participate in recreational experiences in general, and culminated with motivations to recreate specifically in wilderness settings.

The third stage in the study consisted of an ethnographic account of a specific group of wilderness travellers. The subjects' most characteristic actions and expressions, as recorded by the author in the role of participant observer, were combined with pertinent excerpts from the participants' logbooks to recreate each individual's wilderness travel experience, as viewed through his or her own eyes.

The fourth stage of the study concerned the development of a profile of each individual's perceptions of the wilderness travel experience. A questionnaire (Appendix 1) was administered to the travellers immediately prior to embarking on a wilderness expedition in order to ascertain their experience expectations at that time. Upon completion of the expedition an interview (Appendix 2) was conducted with the participants in order to record their evaluations of their experiences, focusing particularly on the development of their expectations during the course of the one year program. The information from these sources was then added to that gathered through the ethnographic account and the logbooks to create a distinct profile for each individual traveller.

The final stage of the study consisted of the comparison and contrast of the profiles of the individual wilderness travellers created in stage four with the theoretical framework of potential motivations to recreate in wilderness settings developed in stage two. The categories of motives to recreate emerging from the review of the motivational literature were used to support and explain the expectations of wilderness travel experiences found to be characteristic of each participant.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Theoretical Contribution

This study's main purpose was to examine modern man enjoying himself in wilderness settings. Too often "wilderness" and "man" are presented as being the two extremes of a bipolar continuum. Man has distanced himself from the natural environment, and has thereby lost touch with many of the forces that are so vital to the pursuit of a rich, rewarding life; not in the sense of the acquisition of material riches, but in a deep, complete appreciation of oneself within one's natural environment. Man needs to examine his priorities, and confirm his position within the greater order of things, before he distances himself to the extent that he loses all touch with anything but that which he himself has created.

This study sets out to examine the place of man within one of the greatest wilderness areas left in the world, to see what reasons he might have to travel there of his own free will. The exploratory work the study has initiated in examining the expectations and perceptions man might have of wilderness experiences will hopefully be continued, in greater depth and detail, and on a broader scale. One of the contributions this study may make is in the examination of expectations in conjunction with perceptions and motivations, as these three areas of interest seem to most often be examined individually. People are easily caught up in semantics, forgetting that everything is interrelated, and should be studied as a part of a larger picture. The comparison of motivations to recreate in wilderness settings with the expectations seen to be characteristic of specific wilderness travellers has given an indication of the wealth of experiences possible within a small travel group, in an area that need not be very isolated.

Practical Contribution

The major contribution this study may make is in the beginning identification of specific expectations of wilderness travel experiences. In order to provide clients with meaningful experiences outdoor professionals must have a grasp of the range of experiences people may be looking for. In this study group of ten people there

were ten distinct wilderness experiences. The outdoor professional must learn to see within his client the needs that must be satisfied if that person is to have a meaningful experience, one which he or she will enjoy enough to repeat. He must also know the range of expectations an individual may have of wilderness travel as everyone is seen to seek fulfilment of all of the motivational categories identified in the relevant literature, although there will generally be a definite area of special interest. In order to provide the client with a truly meaningful experience, the outdoor professional must guide him through an experience where all of the expectation categories are stimulated, for only then has one truly experienced the wilderness. If this exploratory study can serve to provide the initial groundwork for the establishment of a good classification system whereby peoples' main areas of interest may be identified, then it will have served its purpose: more people will be able to wisely use the wilderness to satisfy their own unique needs.

Personal Contribution

I have always loved the outdoors, and have gained my finest personal benefit from the greater insight I now have into the workings of the natural world. I truly hope that others will enjoy reading this account as much as I have enjoyed the research thereof.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Overview Of The Research Design

The primary concern of this study was the description of the individual expectations characteristic of a specific group of wilderness travellers. The study was best served by an ethnographic approach, which described "the subjects' world views (perceptions) through the actions and words observed" (Johns, 1979:46). The author acted as a member of the group, recording his fellow travellers' actions and expressions, from which a picture of their underlying expectations was formed.

Participant observation, the method of data collection for this ethnography, is a process in which the observer's presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation. The observer gathers his data while joining in the subjects' everyday activities. Bruyn (1966:11) feels that "the social scientist is both a participant in and an observer of the society he studies." As Schwartz and Schwartz (1955:344) put it, "the observer is in a face to face relationship with the observed, by participating with them in their natural setting, he gathers data." Bruyn (1966:13) concurs, stating that "the participant observer shares in the life, activities, and sentiments of people in face to face relationships; his role requires both detachment and personal involvement."

The author of this study was placed in an ideal situation to conduct an ethnography. His role, that of the graduate assistant assigned to the explorations program, was well defined from the outset: he was to be a participating group member, while remaining somewhat detached so as to observe developments within individuals and within the group as a social unit. Both the subjects and the observer were aware that theirs was a field relationship, where the observer would be recording data. This mutual awareness tended to minimize problems of role pretending seen to cause some difficulty with studies of this nature (Gold, 1958:220), as there was no need for the observer to conceal any of his actions.

The wealth of subjective data characteristically accumulated through participant observation studies was augmented by participants' responses to a questionnaire and a formal interview. The subjects were asked to record in their own words their expectations of a forthcoming wilderness travel experience. The participant observer then accompanied the travel group in order to describe the experience characteristic of each participant. Following completion of the wilderness immersion phase the participants then responded to a formal interview, reflecting on their experiences, particularly the development of their expectations during the course of their involvement in the explorations program.

Instruments Of The Study

Participant observation is not a single method, but rather a style of analysis which can employ a variety of techniques (Campbell, 1970:227). The instrumentation of this participant observation study included: the maintenance of an extensive daily log recording the participants' actions and statements; formal interviews and questionnaires administered to the participants prior to and upon completion of the experience; perusal of the subjects' logbooks upon completion of the program; and the detailed account of formal debriefings carried out on the trail. Bruyn (1966:16) has found pre-interview to ascertain subjects' expectations, followed by observation of the subjects, and concluded by a review interview to give very indepth results.

1) Observer's Daily log: the participant observer maintained a detailed record of the day to day activities within the group. This log did not have a particular focus. It was broad in scope, consistent with the exploratory nature of an ethnography, the direction of which should only become apparent upon perusal of the compiled data. There were no specific questions to be addressed, since any predetermined direction would have influenced the objectivity of the observations. The participant observer recorded the actions he witnessed the subjects performing, and the descriptive expressions he heard them using during the expedition.

2) Formal Questionnaire (Appendix 1): immediately prior to departure a questionnaire was administered to the participants to ascertain individual expectations of the wilderness travel experience at that time. The first section of the questionnaire was open ended, in order to give the participants the opportunity to use their own wording to describe their expectations. The expressions each participant exhibited added to the depth of the data collected in the participant observer's records, as they were indicative of each participant's unique perception and description of the upcoming experience. The latter portion of the questionnaire had participants select responses from a list of potential answers to each question, which served to establish a common ground upon which the participants' responses could be compared.

3) Formal Interview (Appendix 2): upon completion of the Explorations program the subjects were interviewed, in order to determine how their expectations might have evolved during the course of the program. The interview was held in an informal setting, with the author conducting a discussion with each participant, which was recorded on tape. The interview led each participant through the course of the explorations program, from the time of first signing on to the completion of the last expedition. Each interview resulted in an animated discussion, focusing primarily on evolving expectations, and also on recommendations to improve the program.

4) Subjects' Logbooks: the personal logbooks kept by the participants were reviewed upon completion of the program. There were no formal directions given as to the nature of the entries into the logbooks, so that the participants would feel free to use whichever style and focus they felt was most appropriate. The resultant personal direction apparent in each subject's logbook contained a great wealth of information on how each participant was viewing and reacting to the wilderness travel experience on a day to day basis.

5) Formal Debriefings on the Trail: structured debriefings, where individual concerns and thoughts were aired, were held periodically throughout the course of the expedition. These debriefings were conducted by two of the group members, with the author assuming the role of secretary, recording the proceedings until asked to contribute himself. At that point he would become involved in the discussion, following which he would again assume the role of a scribe, recording the others' words. Each participant was encouraged to actively participate in the debriefings, with even the most reticent being drawn into the discussions. The debriefings featured a section where the participants voiced their "highs and lows", which highlighted the individuals' most enjoyable moments and greatest concerns; these especially served to further expand on the descriptive data specific to each participant.

Steps In The Research

1) Existing literature on wilderness was reviewed in order to establish a historical perspective on the perception of wilderness. The Canadian wilderness was of particular interest, as the perceptions considered as being characteristic of the Canadian wilderness form the basis upon which more detailed individual expectations of travel in this environment would be based. A special area of interest in this regard was the impact the wilderness has had on the history of Canadian literature and art, and the "romantic ideal" the Canadian wilderness has long represented on the international stage.

2) Literature on human motivation was then reviewed in order to establish a theoretical framework whereby individual reasons to participate in wilderness experiences could be examined and explained. This stage of the study focused first on the satisfaction of needs basic to man, then the needs satisfied through recreation in general, and finally on the needs satisfied specifically through wilderness recreation.

3) Following the two literature review stages the study concentrated on the expectations the participants might have of a specific wilderness experience. A questionnaire was administered to the subjects prior to embarking on the expedition, with the responses being filed untouched so that they would not influence the participant observer during the field study.

4) The author participated in the group's wilderness travel experiences in order to conduct an ethnographic study of the participants. Detailed notes were taken during the course of one expedition, which served as the basis for a description of this particular group travel experience.

5) Following the description of the snowshoe expedition, the actions and expressions seen to be most characteristic of each participant were combined with pertinent entries in the personal logbooks to create "A Day In The Life" accounts of each subject's experience. These accounts captured the essence of each individual's wilderness travel experience as viewed by the participant observer.

6) Upon completion of the expeditions an interview was conducted with the participants. This interview concentrated primarily on the evolution of each individual's expectations of Explorations, from first joining the program to the completion of the expeditions.

7) The information on each participant gained through the post-trip interview was added to the base compiled through the pre-trip questionnaire and the period of participant observation. The accumulated information on each participant was then utilized to create a profile of each individual's perception of the wilderness travel experience. These profiles were based primarily on the

"Day In The Life" accounts developed for each participant, supplemented by the additional information gathered through the questionnaires and interviews. The profiles resulting from this broad information base described the expectations of this expedition most characteristic of each traveller.

8) As the final stage of the study, the profiles characteristic of each participant's expectations of wilderness travel were examined in conjunction with the framework of potential motivations to engage in wilderness experiences established through the review of the motivational literature. The expectations found to be characteristic of each individual observed during the field studies were examined and explained through the categories of potential motivations found in the literature.

Subjects Of The Study

The subjects of this study were participants in the University Of Alberta Explorations program, a wilderness travel program offered through the Outdoor Education Route of the Department of Physical Education and Sport Study. The study concentrated primarily on travellers from the 1983/84 Explorations group, although the 1982/83 team first initiated the examination of individual expectations, as is apparent in the discussion of the Buffalo Narrows to Fort McMurray snowshoe expedition.

The participants in the 1983/84 program were eight females and two males, between the ages of twenty and twenty-four. They were all Outdoor Education students at the University of Alberta. They chose to take part in both the study and the overall program of their own free will. Participation in the Explorations program is optional, it is not a requirement of the Outdoor Education route of the Physical Education degree program. The subjects are described in greater detail in Chapter 8, where a profile unique to each participant is developed. The individual experiences as described are based on actual observations recorded by the participant observer, except that the names of the subjects have been changed in order to protect their privacy.

Data Analysis

The qualitative data gathered through participant observation does not lend itself to any clearly defined method of analysis. Gravelle (1977) states that there seems to be no systematic method by which to check the quality or adequacy of data from interviews and/or observations. The openendedness of the research design tends to maximize discovery and description while limiting the opportunity for systematic theory testing (Campbell, 1970:227). The ethnographic approach has however proven to be useful in the description and explanation of specific life worlds (Johns, 1979:29).

The focus of this study was on the description of the experiences and actions most characteristic of each individual in a specific group of wilderness travellers. Data collection was by definition a subjective process, as the participant observer became the instrument. The compiled information was then examined from as objective a perspective as possible; actions and words which appeared most consistently during the examination of data for any particular subject was used to characterise that individual's experience. The desired end result was a description of the wilderness travel experience as perceived by the participant.

Limitations of the Study

The primary limitation of this study was in the size and homogeneity of the study group. The preliminary questions were addressed to numerous travellers, but the wilderness travel group that was studied in detail was comprised of only ten students. The results can apply only to the ten people observed, as there can be no valid generalization based on such a small, select sample.

Delimitations of the Study

This was an exploratory study, performed from as objective a viewpoint as possible, given the design. The questionnaire responses, for example, were not examined until after the "Day in the Life" accounts were created.

CHAPTER 4

WILDERNESS PERCEPTION

SECTION I: ON THE CONCEPT OF WILDERNESS

Wilderness-the very name conjures up images of a world apart, untamed and free. Yet what exactly is wilderness? The earliest known use of the word occurs in the early thirteenth century in "Layamans Brut"; it is derived from the Old English term "wild-deor-ness", "the place of wild beasts" (Nash, 1982:2). This defines wilderness as being in contrast with civilisation, where animals are under man's control.

Wilderness is a concept that could only have come into being since man first became involved in agriculture and began domesticating animals. Prior to this man, the hunter and gatherer, lived as part of his natural environment; his "home" could not have been defined as being "wilderness". Cultures which still rely on hunting and gathering, such as the Malaysian, have no word in their vocabulary for wilderness. The North American Indians also had no concept of wilderness. Chief Standing Bear, of the Ogalala Sioux, stated:

> We do not think of the great open plains, the beautiful rolling hills and the winding streams with tangled growth as 'wild'. Only to white man was nature a 'wilderness' and .....the land 'infested' with 'wild' animals and 'savage' people..... There was no wilderness since nature was not dangerous but hospitable, not forbidding but friendly (Standing Bear, Land of the Spotted Eagle, 1933, quoted in Nash, 1982:xiii).

Closer to home, and also more current, are the words of a Mackenzie Valley Dene Indian, George Barnaby, which have been inscribed on the wall of the Northwest Territories Pavillion at Expo'86 in Vancouver: "We have no word in our language that means wilderness, as anywhere we go is our home". "Wilderness" does not appear to exist for any nomadic cultures. It is the establishment of areas which man, with his developing technology, has gained control over that has led to the definition of all areas beyond man's immediate sphere of influence as being wilderness. The condition of wilderness has no inherent meaning, and cannot exist, without its antipode, civilisation.

The presence of civilisation may be a prerequisite to the establishment of the concept of wilderness, yet man's attitudes toward "wilderness" may extend further back in time. Man was exposed to wilderness, even if he had no word for it or recognized it as such, prior to the advent of early civilisation. Those who believe in the evolution rather than the divine conception of man say that man (Homo Habilis) left his arboreal, primate lifestyle some 1.5 to 2.0 million years ago, gradually becoming more of an open plains creature in the process. Man is said to have adapted to his new environment by becoming erect and by developing improved vision, whereby dangers could be recognized at a greater distance. Nash (1982) contends that this was the beginning of a negative

attitude toward wilderness, as man's previous arboreal "bush" environment became increasingly foreign to him. Whenever man ventured back into this environment he lost the advantage of his superior sight and erect bearing. The forests thus became a mysterious environment, with menacing overtones, harbouring dangers not easily seen or avoided.

Nash's contentions about the early origins of man's attitude toward wilderness are interesting, although they apply only to the arboreal environment. Wilderness, being a descriptive term, almost more adjective than noun, however applies to a great variety of environments. "Wilderness" has described deserts, wastelands, oceans, tundra, and mountain areas above treeline, not just forested areas. "Wilderness" has even been used to describe some aspects of modern civilisation: the "neon wilderness", the "concrete jungle", and the "inner city ghetto" are classic examples. These areas can quite literally be the "place of wild beasts", as foreign to some as the natural environment is to others. Outer space is another contemporary example of wilderness, harbouring many real and imagined dangers.

Wilderness appears to be an attribute of quite a variety of physical settings; it can perhaps best be defined as being a state of mind in respect to a particular environment. Nash reports on a questionnaire

response from a young child defining wilderness as being "the place under my bed". Wilderness truly seems to be in the eye of the beholder, as Clark and his associates (1971), in their study on wilderness perception, have concluded. A state of wilderness appears to depend on one's attitude in respect to a particular condition of the environment. For the purpose of this paper, only the natural, uncontrived environment, free of dominant human artifacts, will be considered as representing wilderness.

The attitudes toward forested wilderness areas described by Nash do apply to Europe, as well as to eastern North America as first seen by Europeans. It was in the wild, dark, immense forests of northern Europe, what is now Germany, that the "Second Reich", the great Roman Empire, first began to crumble. It was in the mysterious forests that demons and spirits reputedly lived, later to be embodied by often hostile Indians and strange, dangerous wild animals in the vast forests of the New World. Settlement, the expansion of civilisation, almost invariably meant a struggle with and ultimate eradication of forests. Nowhere is the demarkation between wilderness and civilisation more apparent than in newly cleared areas extending into forests. Forests give ground grudgingly, as the result of backbreaking toil, and quickly reclaim land that is not continuously worked. For Europeans, and

European settlers in America, wilderness was an adversary, a foe to be overcome through relentless struggle, to be transformed into arable land that had utilitarian uses for mankind.

It is of interest to note that early cultures other than the European did not exhibit such a strong antipathy toward the natural environment. The eastern cultures, the Indian, Chinese and Japanese, did not consider wilderness to be an adversary. The ancient eastern religions: the Chinese Taoist, the Japanese Shinto, India's Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism, all venerated the wilderness; the respective God and wilderness were linked together. Worship often occured in wild natural settings, where it was easier to fully realize the manifestations of the divine (Nash, 1982:20)." Wilderness" is perhaps not the best term in this case, as it was "nature" in its free form that was venerated. The highly sophisticated eastern cultures, as well as the more "primitive" nature-bound cultures such as the Malaysian and the North American Indian, found solace, room for reflection, and indeed sustenance for life itself within "wilderness", their natural environment.

The one culture that appears to have singled wilderness out as being an adversary was the European. The very concept of "wilderness" appears to be an invention of western civilisation (Henderson, 1981:82). As is the case with the eastern cultures and the

American Indian, religion had a large part to play in the formation of attitudes toward the natural environment. Europe's Judeo-Christian religion placed man, the likeness of God, in a position of supremacy above the rest of the living creatures on earth. Christian man's mission is clearly defined in Genesis 1:28, which states that man is to go forth and subjugate all of the creatures and lands of the earth, to render them fruitful and pleasing in the eye of the Lord. Early Christianity exhorted its adherents to transform the natural world into an ordered, civilised state which could best serve its Lord and Master. Early European attitudes toward wilderness, the abhorrence of "earthly" beauty and pleasures, and true asceticism toward the natural world, were to a significant degree formed by the influence of the church. The negative attitude toward wilderness supported by Christianity continued through the Age of Enlightenment, with man's primary purpose being to put order into the chaotic wildlands, to "let the light of God shine on its darkness."

The official stance of the Christian church toward wilderness began to soften somewhat by the late 1600's. Traditional Christianity was undergoing massive upheavals by then, with many tried and true values being questioned and adapted during this period of reformation. The 1600's also saw Europe's wildlands diminishing to the point where the scarcity effect resulted in an increase

in the perceived value of wilderness. By the mid eighteenth century the literati, primarily well to do people in Europe's urban areas, had begun to recognize the value of wilderness, with artists and authors in the vanguard of a movement that saw a total shift in attitude toward wilderness. The "natural state" began to be seen as the pure, unadulatered work of God; wilderness became the clearest medium through which God showed his power, his perfection of creation. The natural state and western religion were increasingly linked together, leading to the idealisation and veneration of wilderness, as had long been the case with eastern religions.

During the 1700's wilderness was increasingly romanticised within European culture. Writers and artists began to present wilderness as the ideal state, as the perfect environment, as the negative attributes of civilisation became more readily apparent. Early European mythology, from the Greeks on, had attached dangerous, frightening and often macabre connotations to wilderness areas. Now tales of the noble savage, of the mystery, the remoteness, the solitude and the natural beauty of the wildlands began to appear. In 1719 Robinson Crusoe, the real life story of an Englishman shipwrecked on a deserted tropical island, captured the imagination of much of Europe's populace. Jean Jacques Rousseau further idealised the wilderness state in "Emile" (1762), the fictitious account of a boy raised

entirely in nature, totally removed from all contact with civilisation. In 1816 George Gordon, alias Lord Byron, articulated what is considered by many to be his generation's manifesto:

> There is pleasure in the pathless woods/there is rapture on the lonely shore/there is society where none intrudes/I love not man the less, but nature more (Byron, 1817:33-34).

Rousseau, one of the leading primitivists on the European continent, did not advocate a return to the wild state, which his epic "Emile" might suggest, rather the incorporation of positive primitive qualities into civilised life (Rousseau, 1966).

Henry David Thoreau, a North American contemporary of Lord Byron's, followed in the tradition of Rousseau. During a lecture at Concord Lyceum in 1815 Thoreau stated:

> I wish to speak a word for nature, for absolute freedom and wildness. Let me live where I will, on this side the city, on that the wilderness and ever am I leaving the city more and more and withdrawing into the wilderness. In wilderness is the preservation of the world (Thoreau, "Walking", in Excursions, The Writings of Henry David Thoreau].

Neither Thoreau nor his predecessor Rousseau were the first to express positive feelings toward nature. In the first century B.C. Lucretius, a Roman poet, wrote:

> There is no disorder or anxiety of man that cannot be cured by a detailed examination of the workings of nature. They alone can give us a cure for the disorders of the mind (Smith D., 1983:36).

The eleventh century Chinese master of landscapes, Ksu Hsi, echoes these sentiments:

> The din of the dusty world and the locked-in-ness of human habitations are what human nature habitually abhors; while, on the contrary, haze, mist, and the haunting spirits of the mountains are what human nature seeks, and yet can rarely find. Away from civilisation man may nourish his nature (quoted in Nash, 1982:21).

Lucretius and Hsi recognized the mystical qualities of nature, and their effect on man. They could not possibly have forseen the incredible advances that lay ahead for civilisation, yet they were able to recognize some of the negative qualities inherent to the civilised state which they, much as their far more widely read successors Thoreau and Rousseau, felt could best be ameliorated through exposure to wilderness settings.

The major point to the arguments of Thoreau, Rousseau, Hsi and Lucretius was that man must not lose contact with nature, for he is after all a product of the natural environment. David Brower perhaps formulates this concept, that of wilderness being the source of human history within the biotic community, best of all:

> Remember that all of the essential creative capability of D.N.A. was shaped in the wilderness, not in civilisation. End wilderness and you end a condition responsible for all life, including human life. When we save the wilderness we save the life force, the unbroken living chain that extends back to the beginning of life on earth....a force that made us possible, and that is essential, in all its wonderful complexity, to our staying aboard this planet (quoted in Nash, 1982:258).

One hundred and fifty years following Thoreau's lecture at the Concord Lyceum the eminent psychologist Carl Jung further elaborated on man's loss of identity, and ultimate loss of sanity, through a loss of contact with nature. Jung, in his beautifully expressive style, wrote:

> As scientific understanding has grown, so our world has become dehumanized. Man feels himself isolated in the cosmos, because he is no longer involved in nature and has lost his emotional "unconscious identity" with natural phenomena. These have slowly lost their symbolic implications. Thunder no longer is the voice of an angry god, nor is lightning his avenging missile. No river contains a spirit, no tree is the life principle of man, no smoke the embodiment of wisdom, no mountain cave the home of a great demon. No voices speak to man from stones, plants and animals, nor does he speak to them believing they can hear. His contact with nature has gone, and with it has gone the profound emotional energy that this symbolic connection supplied (Jung, 1964:94).

Jung, Brower, Ksu Hsi, Lucretius, Rousseau and Thoreau all recognized the necessity of human exposure to wilderness. Thoreau and the others did not however advocate a return to the wild state, rather a life spent utilising the best aspects of both civilisation and wilderness. Thoreau felt, much as his immediate predecessor, Waldo Emerson, that nature released the energy of thought, that it helped to restore a primal balance of self (Smith D., 1983:xii). In Thoreau's opinion the complete man combined the raw

energy of life in his natural state with life as a part of his fellow man's civilisation. The contrast between the two allowed for full appreciation of each, while the two "worlds" complemented each other in supplying life's vital ingredients.

Thoreau, being a true transcendentalist, saw a form of spiritual value in wilderness, beyond its material components. The natural objects were seen as being terrestrial manifestations of God (or a god). Thoreau was however first and foremost a philosopher; while his speeches and essays provoked thought much of what he said was not fully understood by the average man of the time. John Muir, who followed Thoreau and Emerson in the transcendentalist tradition, was the who related best with the people; hs was to be the primary shaper of the North American conscience toward wilderness. As Muir stated in 1874, "I care to live only to entice people to look at nature's loveliness (Nash, 1982:129)."

Muir was instrumental in raising the public awareness of wilderness and its inherent values. His was a never ending battle to advocate and preserve the quality of the North American wildlands. The efforts of Muir and his Sierra Club resulted in the North American public becoming aware of the dangers facing its remaining wildlands. Many who had previously been completely unaware of wilderness became champions of its cause, promoting its preservation.

The settlement of the temperate zone of North America and its development to its present state was proceeding at an incredible rate. The wilderness began to be a source of national pride as the frontiers rapidly expanded to develop all but the most isolated areas. The American ideal was based on the frontier image, on the freedom of action, thought and expression possible in a new world, removed from the time honoured traditions and constraints of the parent cultures in Europe. Wilderness, with its perceived inherent qualities, was becoming ever more closely linked to the sacred American virtues.

In the early 1960's a proposal was put forward to dam the Colorado river in the Grand Canyon, based on the successful model of the Hoover dam. The conservation movement mounted a strong lobby to prevent this, eliciting a very positive response from the American public. The proposed dam was likened to committing an act of sacrilege. There was an unprecedented outpouring of public emotion supporting the preservation of the Grand Canyon in its natural state. The controversy led to sweeping reforms concerning the preservaion of North American wilderness areas, among them the 1964 U.S. Wilderness Act. Economic interests and wilderness preservationists would continue to clash, as they do to this day, but the value of wilderness had been officially recognised by the American people and their government.

The overwhelming public response to the Grand Canyon controversy was in part due to the onset of the cultural revolution. Established values, especially the power structure in society, the "Establishment", were questioned, protested against, and, in many cases, altered. The counter revolution, epitomised by the disillusionment of the American people with the Viet Nam war, had its base in the broader question of the value of human life and its place in the greater order of things. Post-industrial revolution society's overemphasis on materialistic concerns became a central issue, with alternative values, expecially individual human rights, receiving greater support.

The most significant result of the cultural revolution may have been the increased public awareness of the ways of nature, of man's interdependence with natural environment. "Ecology" and "Environmental" became the catchwords of "the new generation", the people who were coming of age in the 1960's. Many of society's fundamental values were questioned, with the natural world receiving some of the recognition it had long been due. As Don Juan, the Yaqui medicine man, put it so well to the anthropologist Carlos Castoneda:

> Now we are concerned with losing self importance. As long as you feel you are the most important thing in the world you cannot really appreciate the things around you. You are like a horse with blinders, all you see is yourself apart from everything else (Castoneda, 1972:23).

Western man had long considered himself as being superior to the rest of the life forms on earth. The counter revolution saw many of these values questioned by the residents of the most advanced technological countries in the world. Popular music, possibly the most dynamic art form of the times, mirrored the attitudes of the people, as art has throughout history. The values awarded the "natural life" in the contemporary music of the 1960's and '70's are indicative of the prevalent attitude toward nature. Joni Mitchell, with her popular song "Big Yellow Taxi" (1969), vilifies the destruction of nature for materialistic concerns:

> They took all the trees and they put them
> in a tree museum,
> and they charged all the people a dollar
> and a half just to see them.
> Don't it always seem to go
> that you don't know what you've got till
> its gone,
> they've paved paradise and put up a parking
> lot.

Simon and Garfunkel, in the very popular ballad "El Condor Pasa" (1970), echoe these sentiments:

> I'd rather be a forest than a street,
> yes I would,
> If I only could, I surely would,
> I'd rather have the earth beneath my
> feet...

The natural state, wilderness, had assumed a position of great importance and significance in North American life. From "hippie" communes to executives on hunting expeditions people were beginning to appreciate the wilderness. The positive attitude toward wilderness that

became so popular during the 1960's and '70's has remained in place to date. Wilderness experiences are pursued by many, but the wilderness appears to have inherent value, to be important, even to people who do not choose to physically experience it. It has become apparent to a far wider range of people that man is a part of nature, that he is not above it as some form of supreme being; that he is vulnerable, relying on an interdependence with the natural ecosystem to survive.

Anyone who has ever spent any significant amount of time in natural settings has no difficulty understanding this idea of interdependence. Howard Zahniser states:

> one of the spiritual benefits of wilderness experience is to know a profound humility, to recognise one's littleness, to sense dependence and interdependence, indebtedness and responsibility (Zahniser, 1955:166).

Wilderness can perhaps best be defined as being a state of mind in respect to the natural environment, and may in fact become a non-entity, a non-issue, when one truly becomes part of that natural environment. It is seen as being both the antipode and antidote to modern civilisation, as the cure to many societal "illnesses". Wilderness seems to have lost all its previous negative connotations and attributes. It has now attained the idealised state advocated by wilderness purists the ilk of Aldo Leopold, John Muir, Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Jean Jacques Rousseau.

SECTION II: THE CANADIAN WILDERNESS

The exploration of what is now Canada began as the European attitudes toward wilderness began to change. By the early sixteenth century, Europe's wildlands had diminished to the point where the scarcity effect began to favour wilderness over civilisation. News about the vast wilderness of the New World may even have had some impact on the change in European attitudes; it may have been easier to romanticise wilderness in some exotic, far off locale than it was to deal with it in one's own proximity. The new land was being explored at a time that wilderness was beginning to attain the "ideal" status, as the most perfect form of God's creation.

Information about the New World came to Europe in four forms, as verbal accounts, written records, artistic impressions, and physical exhibits. Physical exhibits aroused great interest, but were rare due to the limited cargo space in the vessels of the day, and also due to the difficulty in transporting living or fragile objects across the tempestuous North Atlantic. Physical exhibits were also of necessity taken out of their environment, out of context, and could therefore only present a partial picture of the New World. This fragmented image, with its focus often being on the unique or bizzare, probably served to distort reality more than it would have clarified the understanding of these newly discovered territories.

The most common source of information about the New World was in the form of verbal accounts. Anyone who had actually seen this land would have had stories to tell, tales which would probably have grown with each retelling. European folklore had developed primarily through such a verbal history, as only a very small portion of the European populace was literate prior to the sixteenth century. The tales of the New World quickly shrouded it in mystery, a mystical quality which would have been further reinforced rather than dispelled by the rare physical exhibits and other more concrete forms of information provided by the explorers.

Early Canadian explorers were encountering many unique, previously unknown life forms in the vast wilderness that extended to the west and north in almost incomprehensible distances. Some examples of strange creatures were taken home as exhibits, but for the most part verbal, written and artistic descriptions were all that reached Europe. Written accounts were generally quite factual, although there are records of fanciful creatures such as mermaids being found, and even killed, in Canada (Godsell, 1971:10). These written accounts were however of little use to most of the population, and could at best describe the wonders of this land in abstract terms. The first real visual impact the New World had on Europeans was in the form of artistic impressions, drawings of what the land and its life forms looked like.

Art and The Canadian Wilderness

The earliest artistic impressions of Canada were charts and maps. Men like Cabot, Cartier, Frobischer, Hudson and Champlain provided the information which early mapmakers utilised in constructing an image of this unknown new territory. These maps , such as Pierre Descelier's "Mappemonde" (1546) and Nicholas Vallard's "Atlas" (1548) are the first visual representation Europeans had of what is now Canada (Godsell, 1971:6)

The early maps, as well as the information on them, were often an interesting blend of fact and fiction. Mapmakers were forced to rely on their imaginations to complete their masterpieces, to construct a whole from the bits and pieces of information the English, French, Spanish and Portugese explorers were contributing. The physical geography of the New World was, for the most part, quite accurately described, with the exact locations and bearings necessary for precise navigation forming the maps' skeletons. The early maps were however more than mere charts, they contained the artistic conceptions the mapmakers had of some of the real and imagined natural phenomena of the New World. These maps portray very realistic recreations of species unique to the Americas next to wonderous creatures such as mermaids and two legged sea horses. Most mapmakers never actually saw the land they were portraying, relying on second hand information about the mysterious natural phenomena of the

New World to construct their maps. Thus we have maps such as Vallard's Atlas picturing the Atlantic seabord and much of Quebec and Labrador quite accurately, while it depicts the Indians meeting Cartier and his French colonists at Stadecona in 1541 as wearing uncharacteristic "European barbarian" style animal skins (Godsell, 1971:7).

Early explorers usually kept some form of written record of what they saw, with those who were so inclined adding drawings of interesting features. Mapmakers were forced to rely on these often crude illustrations, with some of the more fanciful depictions on the maps probably resulting from such drawings combined with inaccurate verbal and written descriptions. The early maps, with their blend of fact and fiction, would have added to the mystique surrounding this unknown wilderness.

The earliest artistic impressions by people actually living in Canada, other than those by native inhabitants, were by Jesuit missionaries (Reid, 1973). Abbe Louis Nicholas, who lived in New France from 1664 to 1675, produced the first known written and artistic record of Canada. His work "Memoires sur le Canada, Les Raretes des Indes", which came to be known as the "Codex Canadiensis", is one of the first books on Canadian natural history (Godsell, 1971:10). This book is a careful study of Indian life, while it also contains interesting descriptions and pictures of mystical, imaginative creatures that never existed. Abbe Nicholas obviously

took an active interest in his surroundings, but he must also have relied on some hearsay for his more wonderous creatures. It was the good Abbe who reported on the mermaid being killed in the Richelieu River.

Following Abbe Nicholas there were a number of missionaries who attempted to portray their impressions of Canada. Most of the Jesuits' paintings were done mainly for the benefit of the Indians, as aids in their conversion to Christianity. Art had long been recognized as being a useful cross-cultural communications medium, with paintings easily bridging many language barriers. The Jesuits were mostly unskilled, but some, such as Frere Luc, who spent fifteen months in Canada beginning in 1670, were very accomplished painters. Frere Luc's "La France Apportant la Foi aux Indiens de la Nouvelle France" (c. 1675) was a brilliant painting. It depicted France, as a Queen, meeting her Indian subject in his natural environment, bequeathing upon him a reliqious painting. This painting beautifully captured the changing attitudes toward wilderness of this era; it was a scene of great natural beauty, but the wilderness setting was portrayed as a dark, almost gloomy enviroment. There was a light in the distance and in the gathering of the Holy Trinity in the clouds above, with one strong beam shining down on the Queen, the Indian, and their immediate surroundings. One could see that the wilderness required nothing but the light of God to become a truly wonderful place.

The early Jesuit paintings, which most often depicted the Canadian wilderness in some religious context, were followed by a series of "ex-voto" paintings. These paintings generally depicted some form of miraculous escape from natural tragedies, such as ships breaking up in stormy seas, canoes overturned in raging rapids, or lumberjacks pinned beneath fallen trees. The emphasis in these paintings was on their religious significance, but the all-powerful Canadian wilderness became their strongest component. The wilderness was presented as being an irresistable, uncaring force that had man at its mercy until the hand of God entered the picture to avert certain tragedy.

A later painting by Blair Bruce, "The Phantom Hunter" (1888), while it had no religous overtones, followed in the ex-voto "man the victim of nature" tradition. Bruce, a Canadian born painter, was trying to capture something of Canada for Theodore Rousseau's "Barbizon" school of art in France. The Barbizon school was the first "plein air" art school, the first to paint directly from nature, completing works outdoors, rather than working indoors from sketches made in the wild (Godsell, 1971:100). The idea was to capture exactly what was seen in the environment. Bruce chose as his subject the old Canadian legend of the "Walker of the Snow", the ghostly old Jack Frost, who pursued trappers through the snow and froze them to death. The painting depicted a trapper lying in

the snow, struggling to arise, with his footprints showing how he had circled and fallen. Meanwhile, a ghostly apparition was walking away without leaving any tracks. Paintings like this, along with the popular ex-voto paintings, served to illustrate the incredible power of the Canadian elements to Europeans and Canadians alike.

To date most Canadian art had been French or French-Canadian. In the mid-eighteenth century, British military artists arrived on the scene. They mostly performed the duties of modern day military photgraphers, but some of them were very accomplished artists. Sir Richard Levign captured the dark and mysterious image of New Brunswick Indians "Salmon Fishing by Torchlight", while Hervey Smith, an aid-de-camp with General Wolfe, beautifully painted his "Six Views of the Most Remarkable Places on the Gulf and River St Lawrence". The most accomplished among the military topographers was however probably Thomas Davies. During the four years he spent in Canada between 1786 and 1790 he demonstrated a very keen observation of people, nature and topography. Each of Davies' paintings depicted man enjoying himself in nature. Davies' natural scenes, with their characteristic attention to detail, were incredibly beautiful and vibrant. His waterfalls especially came to life, one could almost hear the roar of the water. The British topographers continued in the French tradition of landscape painting, leaving a legacy of wilderness and pastoral paintings.

Canadian art traditionally dealt with natural scenes, with a varying emphasis on people within those scenes. The artist who best captured human life in Canada was probably Cornelius Krieghoff. Krieghoff's "genre" paintings were delightful scenes, showing the happiness of Quebec's habitants within their environment. The paintings of the genre artists presented a much different Canada than the early missionary and ex-voto paintings had. The genre paintings by definition dealt with people, but they did so in a manner that allowed the Canadian environment to appear in a positive light. It is difficult to imagine Krieghoff's "Merrymakers" (1860) feeling a "deep terror" of nature; they seem to be enjoying themselves immensely, without a care in the world. Krieghoff's paintings, while they depicted mostly pastoral scenes of habitant lifestyle, also conveyed images of the omnipresent natural elements. The genre paintings, following the scenes of natural beauty evident in the topographers' paintings, cast the Canadian environment in a much more positive light than had previously been the case.

The early explorers, the Jesuit missionaries, the creators of the ex-voto paintings, the British topographers and the genre painters all presented the Canadian environment in artistic forms, but it was an Irish-born Canadian artist who really romanticised the Canadian wilderness. Paul Kane, who emigrated to York

(present day Toronto) in 1819, at the age of nine, worked during the same period as his friend Cornelius Krieghoff. Both chose Indians as their subjects, although Krieghoff concentrated more on French-Canadian habitant lifestyle.

Paul Kane, fearing the Canadian Indians were facing imminent extinction, made the recording for posterity of images of Indian customs and habitat his life work, much as George Catlin had done with the American Indians. Between 1845 and 1848 Paul Kane travelled through western Canada, Oregon and Washington, before returning to his home base in Toronto. At this time western Canada was a wilderness, inhabited by Indians and the few occupants of the isolated Hudsons Bay and Northwest Companys' trading posts and forts. He recorded the saga of his epic journey in "Wanderings of an Artist Among The Indians of North America" (1859; 1968), a beautifully illustrated history of life in mid nineteenth century western Canada. In his travels he endured countless hardships, while obviously enjoying the lifestyle he was leading and recording.

Paul Kane, in his art as well as his written accounts, offered a clear description of life in nineteenth century Canada. His close attention to detail was indicative of his keen interest in his environment and its inhabitants. There is little doubt that his work served to further romanticise the Canadian wilderness. His novel has proven to be a classic in Canadian literature, enjoying enduring popularity in Canada and abroad.

Paul Kane was one of the greatest Canadian artists of the romantic era. One half century later another great artist came onto the scene, James Wilson Morrice. Morrice lived three seasons each year at the Barbizon school in Paris, but he spent all his winters in Canada. One of his finest paintings is "The Ferry, Quebec" (c.1909), which is "cold with the living cold, the aggressive, stimulating cold of the true north we all know" (Reid, 1973:132). This painting has been judged as one of the best Canadian paintings of all time, possibly because in it Morrice was so well able to capture an ephemeral, distinctly Canadian dimension: the cold. Morrice was to exert a tremendous impact on Canadian artists to follow, especially Canada's most famous group of painters, the Group of Seven.

The Group of Seven's purpose was to produce a truly Canadian art for the Canadian people, "an art of the soil and woods and waters and rock and sky"; they were painting Canada as it really was (Godsell, 1971:127). The Group of Seven painted nature, which, since at least the beginning of the Barbizon school, had represented freedom, "freedom from the city, from style, from convention, from constraint (Gordon et al, 1983:21). As Varley, one of the original group members, put it in 1914, "we are endeavoring to knock out of ourselves all of the preconceived ideas, emptying ourselves of everything except that nature is here in all its greatness"

(Reid, 1973:139). The Group was attempting to achieve "Dhar Dharana", which Varley entitled a 1932 painting, referring to the Buddhist state of spiritual union with nature. Housser states of the Group's aims:

> This task demands a new type of artist; one who divests himself of the velvet coat and flowing tie of his caste, puts on the outfit of the bushwacker and prospector; closes with his environment; paddles and makes camp; sleeps in the out-of-doors under the stars; climbs mountains with his sketch box on his back (Murray, 1984, p.16).

The Group of Seven, in attempting to depict the pioneer spirit that founded Canada, often found themselves reliving this pioneer lifestyle. They loved the out-of-doors, and were happy to spend week after week travelling through the backwoods and hinterlands of the country (Murray, 1984). Thomson, the outdoorsman turned artist who provided much of the inspiration for the Group, has become a legendary figure in Canadian art history. As David Milne stated in 1939, referring to Thomson's untimely demise in Canoe Lake, "I rather think it would have been wiser to have taken your ten most prominent Canadians and sunk them in Canoe Lake--and saved Tom Thomson (Reid, 1973:171). Thomson did not live to see the formal creation of the Group of Seven, but he was there in spirit, as evidenced by the tremendous impact he had on the rest of the group members. It was Thomson's influence that first turned A.J. Jackson on to the

wilderness. Jackson, who was arguably the finest painter in the group, subsequently spent three out of four seasons of the next fifty years travelling through Canada's wilderness, sketching this pristine environment.

The Group of Seven, consisting of Lawrence Harris, A.J. Jackson, Frank H. Johnston, Arthur Lismer, J.E.H. MacDonald, F.H. Varley, Franklin H. Carmichael and Tom Thomson, in spirit if not in body, as well as Lemoine Fitzgerald, Edwin Holgate and A.J. Casson as later members, represent the single most dominant force in Canadian art. By the 1930's the Group of Seven was almost a national symbol. As their contemporary David Milne put it: "Whatever the value of the Group of Seven in art, there is no doubt about their value to Canada. Mr. Bennet could very nicely vote the seven a million dollars each, and the country would still be in their debt" (Reid, 1983:171). The Group of Seven culminated the tradition of Canadian nature painting, firmly entrenching the position of wilderness within Canadian culture.

Throughout the history of Canadian art the wilderness has been the dominant factor. From the first maps, the Jesuits, the ex-voros, the British topographers and the genre painters to Paul Kane, James Morrice, Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven, wilderness scenes or settings have dominated the Canadian art scene. There is little doubt that Canadian art has contributed tremendously to Canada's image of representing the ideal "romantic wilderness".

Literature and The Canadian Wilderness

Everything that is central in Canadian writing seems to be marked by the imminence of the natural world. Northrop Frye (1971) contends that Canadian literature is based on history, as compared to the literature of older cultures, which is generally based on a mythology developed during the evolution of the respective culture. Throughout Canadian history the natural elements have been all-pervasive, all-powerful. The incredible hardships faced by early explorers, such as those resulting in the gruesome tale of Franklin's ill-fated search for the Northwest Passage, were mirrored in the lives, and quite often, the deaths of many who chose to live in Canada.

Margaret Atwood (1972) has examined dominant themes emerging in the literature, comparing Canada with Britain and the United States. She found the British central theme to be that of "The Island", with its fortress-like qualities, its steadfastness and dependability. The American theme was "The Frontier", with all its inherent qualities, most of which are related to the basis of democracy, individual freedom. The Canadian central theme Atwood found to be "Survival", in its barest form. Human beings could survive natural crises only through a mixture of cunning and experience, could at best hope for narrow escapes, and would ultimately die in the face of Nature's irresistable strength. The Canadian elements were simply too powerful for man to aspire to more than mere survival.

There was a distrust and fear of "Nature the Monster" prevalent in the Canadian literature. Nature was neither dead and indifferent to man, which left him alienated, or hostile, which left man threatened, and, most often, dead. Nature was capable of playing dirty tricks on man, primarily using weapons such as ice, rock, water, snow, and both dead and alive trees (Atwood, 1972:54). Even highly skilled bush people could not afford to make a mistake without losing their lives, as Jack London has so beautifully illustrated in his classic "To Build a Fire" (1903). Northrop Frye, in his conclusions to "The Literary History Of Canada" expounded on the evidence of this survival theme and its origins. He states:

> ...we can see how the Canadian environment has exerted its influence on the poet. The environment in nineteenth century Canada is terrifyingly cold, empty and vast, where the obvious and immediate sense of nature is the late romantic one, increasingly affected by Darwinism, of nature red in tooth and claw. We notice the recurrence of such episodes as shipwreck, Indian massacres, human sacrifices, lumbermen mangled in log jams, mountain climbers crippled on glaciers, animals screaming in traps, the agonies of starvation and solitude - in short the "shutting out of the whole moral creation" (Frye, 1971:243).

Canadian poetry carried a tone of deep terror in respect to nature. This terror was far deeper than a mere fear of the physical environment, more than the human suffering, the dangers, discomforts and mysteries of nature. It was a soul-deep dread of something beyond man's

comprehension. Nature's way was not that of western man, who, if he is incapable of asserting his order over nature, must succumb to its powers. The human soul could not cope with the "deep moral silence", the "massive indifference", the "unconscious power" of nature (Frye, 1971:225; 243). Many Canadian poems and novels depicted a character becoming insane in the vastness, the immeasurable immensity of his surroundings: the Mad Trapper syndrome. These characters lost all reason; they began to run about, exhibiting suicidal or murderous tendencies, and, ultimately, died by "bushing", as Atwood so aptly described it. Man became quite insignificant in the face of Canadian wilderness, which is why it had provoked such a deep dread. Man the moral creature, doing everything right, could still be wiped out by a whim of an uncaring, indifferent nature. Nature did not "play by the rules"; it had no need to be fair, as judged by man's standards.

The qualities inherent to the Canadian wilderness that resulted in the creation of such magnificent art: the vastness, the immensity, and the all powerful elements; seemed to have overwhelmed the poet and the author. The Canadian environment was portrayed as representing a virtually insurmountable challenge. The immeasurable power ascribed to the Canadian wilderness in the Canadian literature have definitely added to its international appeal; the true North asks and gives no quarter.

A Historical Perspective on Canadian Wilderness

Canada's early maps show nothing but a few forts, connected only by the tenuous ties of the Canadian waterways. Canada's settlements grew from these forts, and were never far removed from the natural environment. The settlements were isolated from each other; any form of communication was at best difficult, with travel often being impossible. Human support was therefore not readily available; man was pretty much at the mercy of the elements. These elements however knew no mercy, no compassion. Canadian nature was not the "Divine Mother" of Thoreau's "Walden", it was perceived more as being cruel and uncaring.

The Canadian wilderness was dominated by incredibly powerful elements, especially the cold. The only real season in most of Canada seemed to be the winter, with summer being but a brief respite, followed quickly by the rigours of another winter. European settlers experienced great difficulty adjusting to this harsh climate. All too often the already short growing season ended prematurely, forcing new Canadians to survive another winter on meager rations. The only way to master the elements was to stick together in groups, to quite literally "fort up" against the environment. This syndrome, the combined resistance against outside forces, has resulted in what Atwood (1972) and Frye (1971) call the Canadian "garrison mentality". This refers to an attitude that goes far deeper than the

mere physical evolution of today's cities from earlier forts; it is a psychological shutting out of the dreaded forces of nature, most of all the cold.

European settlers attempted to impose their control, their straight lines, squares and rectangles, on a totally unreceptive environment. Wilderness everywhere is a complex labyrinth, subscribing to its own order: a flow of curves, forests, streams and hills. Europeans, in their quest to explore and colonize the rest of the world, had encountered the natural environment in a wide variety of forms, but rarely had they been exposed to such a powerful, inhospitable wilderness. Early settlers who attempted to impose their order on these particular "chaotic wildlands" experienced at best a difficult struggle, and, as often as not, failure.

American settlement has been likened to the opening up of new frontiers, while the Canadian pattern has been characterized by a struggle without results (Frye, 1971). Man attempted to impose his order on the wilderness, but the natural forces persevered; the natural curves took over again, eradicating the settlers straight lines.

> These then are the prevailing shapes which (I speculate) other writers have given to two of the mythic ancestral figures on the collective totem pole: Explorers who fail or die, settlers whose suffering and effort is futile. Some redemption may be possible if they at least enjoyed the process of travelling or building, but on the whole they're fairly grim lipped about it (Atwood, 1972:125).

Much of the hardship early settlers and explorers encountered, the basis of their fear of nature, was primarily due to an unwillingness or inability to adapt to local conditions in Canada. As Frye puts it, "Canadian civilisation demonstrates little adaptation to nature, ...merely a conquest of nature by an intelligence that does not love it" (1971:243). The early explorers and settlers who experienced such difficulties with the Canadian environment were attempting to approach it from an inappropriate perspective. Nature everywhere required some adaptation on the part of those who wished to live in it, but the Canadian environment was unique in the incredible power of its elements, especialy the cold. Those who struggled against the Canadian wilderness, who resisted its "natural flow", who attempted to impose their order on its natural elements, found themselves up against a very formidable adversary.

Canada originated as an obstacle, as a blockade in the route between Europe and the riches of the far east. The search for a Northwest Passage, which dominated early Canadian history, provides numerous examples of people who were unwilling to adapt, to assume lifestyles appropriate for the local conditions. Many explorers, such as Franklin, whom Atwood described as having attempted to impose his order on the chaos of the Canadian wilderness, attempted to follow their regular customs, and ultimately succumbed to the forces of nature.

The same wilderness that was proving to be the undoing of so many European settlers and explorers was however the hospitable habitat of the native population. The Inuit and Indians had existed quite comfortably within the Canadian environment for thousands of years, the same physical environment that was causing the European newcomers such great distress. The environment itself was identical, it was the difference in attitudes that resulted in success or failure for those attempting to live in it. Native Canadians did not see the natural forces as adversaries. The natural elements: the ice, snow and cold; the mountain ranges; the forests, bush, muskeg and tundra; the lakes, streams and great rivers, were not viewed as challenges to the supremacy of man. These elements were simply part of man's habitat, neutral but alive, capable of providing life forces rather than diminishing them. As Atwood (1972:66) stated:

> Nature is a monster perhaps only if you come to it with unreal expectations or fight its conditions rather than accepting them and learning to live with them. Snow isn't necessarily something you die in or hate, you can also make houses in it.

The view that Atwood expressed is indicative of native attitudes toward the natural environment. Canada, with its rigorous natural elements, could hardly have been seen in such a positive light by its early European explorers. Canada was after all an obstacle; early explorers were primarily interested in finding a way through or around

Canada, rather than in an exploration of the country itself. One need only remember that Alexander MacKenzie, after having travelled through northern Alberta and the Northwest Territories along the great river which now bears his name, christened it the "River of Disappointment" upon realising it had led him to the Arctic rather than the Pacific Ocean. The great journey he had experienced, the exploration of the land itself, meant nothing to him; the whole experience was cast in a negative light because he had not found a route across this vast land. Canada's natural elements could have represented nothing more than an incredibly powerful opposing force to such explorers, people whose entire focus was on the destination, the successful completion of the route, rather than the journey itself.

Explorers and settlers who were willing to adapt did not find the Canadian environment to be the fierce ogre it has been depicted as being. Sir John Rae, renowned among the Inuit as the "Arctic Fox", is a classic example of a European explorer adopting local customs; he was able to explore the Canadian North without encountering the difficulties other, less adaptable people were experiencing. Dr. Rae was the Hudson Bay Company's most accomplished northern explorer; in his travels, including four Arctic trips, he walked 23,000 miles, mapping some 1,700 miles of previously uncharted territory (Newman, 1985:42).

Rae owed his success as an explorer to his ability to adopt the lifestyle of the indigenous population; he had realised that native skills could best deal with the problems of surviving in the wilderness. Rae's way of thinking was however very much in opposition to the prevalent attitude among European explorers. Europeans, especially the British, had long considered their way of life as being superior to all others; this attitude was substantiated by the success Europeans had experienced in exploring and colonizing much of the known world. The European style of exploration was however not appropriate for the Canadian wilderness.

When Rae returned to England, after his discovery of the Franklin tragedy, he recommended to the Admiralty that future expeditions in search of the Northwest Passage should adopt, as best they could, the Eskimo's method of travel, lifestyle and clothing. The response of the Admiralty was that:

> the prime objective of fox hunting is not the killing of the fox, but the observance of good form during the pursuit and at the kill. The objective of polar expeditions is to explore properly and not to evade the hazards of the game through the vulgar subterfuge of going native (Newman, 1985:42).

As an officer of the Royal Geographic Society, a real armchair expert, put it to Ernest Shackleton, the polar explorer, "of course anyone can succeed..., if he is willing to go native (Newman, 1985:42).

Rae, travelling light and living in snow houses, was able to easily travel through the very area where Franklin met his horrible demise; he had attained the natives' easy familiarity with their environment. Rae, and others of his ilk, were however not considered to be in the high tradition of the gentleman explorer. "True gentlemen" would rather die than compromise their rigid, time honoured standards and traditions, especially when it came to adopting the lifestyle of a people perceived as being inferior and uncivilised.

It was small wonder indeed that early Canadian attitudes toward wilderness were negative. Canadian heritage was based on established old world traditions, especially those of the British. The Canadian wilderness must have been an incredibly powerful adversary for those unwilling to severe their links with the negative aspects of a cultural past in Europe. The natural environment was all-pervasive, exerting its influence on every facet of life in Canada, yet many early Canadians, steeped in their European cultural traditions, resisted the natural forces at every turn. This was the phenomenon that Atwood referred to in describing the Canadian pioneer as being the classic example of trying to fit a square peg into a round hole. The Canadian pioneers did of course persevere, with Canada as we now know it resulting from their efforts, but the ceaseless struggle with the forces of nature have left an indelible imprint on the Canadian psyche.

Canada: The Romantic Wilderness

The very qualities that made the Canadian wilderness such an inhospitable environment for early Canadians served to romanticise it on the international stage. Canadian exploration began as positive attitudes toward wilderness began to emerge in Europe. Canada was a huge no-mans land, with immeasurable areas that could barely be comprehended. Tales of Canada's vast forests, the great lakes and rivers, the mountains, the arctic, the native inhabitants, the wild animals, and, most of all, the incredibly powerful elements, began to filter back to Europe. The positive qualities increasingly attributed to wilderness were almost automatically associated with Canada, which was an ideal wilderness environment.

Frye wrote of a "pastoral myth", which Canada was seen as representing internationally. The pastoral myth could not actually be tied to a specific locale, it was the vision of a social ideal, an almost naive childhood dream of a perfect world. The pastoral myth was represented in Canada by a particularly strong nostalgia for world peace and protection, with a spontaneous response to the nature around it; it was a search for the peacable kingdom (Frye, 1971:220).

Close to the center of the pastoral myth was the sense of kinship with the flora and fauna of the world. The Canadian frontier, being totally around one, a part and condition of one's whole imaginative being, provided the

proximity necessary to form this kinship with the natural world. Early Canadians appear to have had some difficulty relating to their natural environment, but the opportunity to form a close bond with Canada's pristine wilderness has always been available. Rupert Brooke referred to this when he spoke of the "unseizable virginity of the Canadian landscape" (Frye, 1971:220). The Canadian wilderness was representative of the glory of creation, of the goodness and purity of the natural world at its best.

Canadian art, from the early Jesuits to the Group of Seven has attempted to capture the essence of this idea, by illustrating the beauty of Canada's wilderness. Many Canadian artists have spent time roaming through the wilderness searching for their particular version of the "Canadian Ideal", as exemplified by the journeys of Paul Kane, Tom Thomson, and the Group of Seven. The qualities inherent to the Canadian wilderness: the vastness, the immensity, and the all-powerful elements, have resulted in the creation of truly magnificent art by those people blessed with the talent to portray them.

The search for the essence of the Canadian wilderness need not however be only an artistic endeavor. The "Great White North" is there for anyone who chooses to immerse him or herself in it. Even today settlements in most parts of Canada have the appearance of solitary outposts in a vast wilderness. One need only fly into any city, even over the country's most densely populated areas in

southern Ontario to the nation's capital, to visually verify this. The twin cities, Ottawa/Hull, are surrounded by miles and miles of forest, as are many other major Canadian centers. The natural environment is still very much a part of everyday life in Canada today. The natural elements, especially the cold, continue to be dominant, all-pervasive, exerting their influence on Canadians in every walk of life. The wilderness exacts its tribute, today as in the past; people still die of hypothermia in our major cities or within a few miles of habitation in rural areas. The Canadian wilderness continues to exist in vast areas; modern man still has the opportunity to experience wilderness immersion, with all its inherent benefits, even close to our major population areas.

The Canadian Image abroad has always been that of the ideal "romantic wilderness". Even today the romantic locales in Canada are not the towns or cities, but the wilderness, the north and the water (Atwood, 1972:114). In 1986 Canada's ministry of tourism injected ten million dollars into a massive advertising campaign to attract more American tourists. The goal of the campaign was to promote Canadian towns and cities. The ministry was well aware that Canada's wilderness image required no support; it is in fact almost too powerful, detracting from other potential areas of touristic interest in the Canadian population centers. "Canada" and "wilderness" are considered as being almost synonymous.

Canada's status as representing the ideal of the romantic wilderness is perhaps best described by Robert Service:

> It's a great big broad land way up yonder,
> It's the forests where silence has lease;
> Its the beauty that fills me with wonder
> It's the stillness that fills me with peace
> (The Spell of the Yukon, 1935).

Canada has become a world leader in many technological areas, has developed a strong social system, and has evolved major population and cultural centers, yet its international image is still that of the romantic wilderness. This is quite appropriate, for Canada incorporates some of the finest wilderness areas in the world. This vast land continues to present the possiblity of engaging in one's own personal search for life's meanings through an individual or group wilderness experience, something that is simply not possible in many of the more heavily populated, industrialised countries of the world.

A culture, as it evolves, develops its own mythology. Canadian culture has only a very limited human history; its mythology is definitely based on the wilderness, on the timeless power of its elements. Canada will continue to have this reputation of wildness, even as the physical resource becomes eroded, such is the strength of the mystique that has evolved. "Canada" and "Wilderness" are inextricably interwoven.

CHAPTER 5

MOTIVATIONS TO TRAVEL IN WILDERNESS SETTINGS

The perception of wilderness apparent in the literature was intriguing, particularly the "romantic ideal" that the Canadian wilderness was seen as representing, both at home and on the international scene. The original question I had come back from Europe with was now at least partly answered; the Canadian wilderness was everything its international reputation made it out to be. It was all pervasive, influencing every aspect of the evolution of Canadian culture. The elements were still as powerful as ever, the vast wide open spaces were there, as were the great rivers and lakes, the mountains, the great plains, the immense forests and, above all else, the Canadian winter, with its legendary cold and snow.

The incredibly powerful environment could still cause even experienced wilderness travellers tremendous difficulty. The novels I had enjoyed so much as a child, such as Jack London's "To Build A Fire"(1903), that had helped to create the image the Canadian environment enjoys internationally, could still be set almost anywhere in the Canadian back country. I could easily visualise London's trapper breaking through the ice at $-50^{0}C$, lighting a fire with rapidly freezing hands, only to have snow fall off of the tree to douse the life saving flame and consign him to certain death.

The wilderness London's protagonists were dying in was still there to be experienced any time; the manner in which the Canadian environment had been portrayed was quite appropriate. The strong perceptions of the Canadian wilderness that such stories elicit within the reader would flavour ones's expectations of travelling within this environment. My first major snowshoe expedition from Buffalo Narrows to Fort McMurray was definitely based on such idealistic, romantic perceptions. I had spent most of my life outdoors but I had very little experience in winter expeditions to base more concise expectations on. Perceptions of wilderness travel based on such romantic ideals may even be quite valid, as the Buffalo Narrows expedition demonstrated. The "romantic ideal" appeared to be alive and well, the powerful Canadian wilderness that had inspired such great literature and art continued to exist in all its glory.

The perceptions of the wilderness prevalent in Canadian art and literature are indicative of the expectations people have of winter travel in the Canadian wilderness. The Canadian environment is quite unique in the perception it enjoys as being the ideal, powerful wilderness. The elements continue to be all pervasive, influencing Canadians in every walk of life, even in the major urban centers. Wilderness cannot however exist everywhere, not even in Canada; it is an attribute of the environment characteristic only of specific areas.

My vivid, romantic perception of travel within the Canadian wilderness had fit the Buffalo Narrows experience well. The environment could however just as easily have been much less wild, which would have resulted in quite a different experience taking place. The idealistic perceptions of wilderness travel brought on by the strong image ascribed to the Canadian environment had proven to be appropriate in this instance, but I knew that could not always be the case. There had to be more reasonable qualities inherent to wilderness travel that would result in travel within less ideal surroundings being a positive experience as well. If people's needs could only be fulfilled by experiences like the Buffalo Narrows expedition then most wilderness travellers would be returning unsatisfied.

The issue had become one of individual needs which could be met through a variety of outdoor experiences, not just one involving "true wilderness". A real wilderness environment might be difficult to access, and it had become apparent during the perusal of the literature relating to the concept of wilderness that the definition of "wilderness" seemed to be specific to the situation and the individual. The satisfaction of needs through exposure to the natural environment was the issue to be addressed, rather than the physical definition of areas as being "true wilderness" rather than being merely "back country" or "bush".

This chapter focused on the identification of the most important needs man could satisfy through wilderness experiences. The term "wilderness" continued to be used, as it related to a specific category of experiences characterised by unique perceptions, regardless of the actual physical attributes of the environment to be visited. One's perceptions of travel within the Canadian wilderness would be indicative of the underlying expectations one might have of such an experience. The examination of more specific motivations to engage in wilderness experiences was however of special interest.

Freely chosen wilderness experiences were of primary interest to this study. The question addressed in this chapter was why people would choose to spend time travelling in wilderness areas. Merriam et al (1976) contend that the freedom from constraints and of choice inherent to wilderness travel would define it as being a recreational. Motivation to participate in recreational experiences would therefore apply to wilderness travel.

It seems that one cannot study the satisfaction of needs or motivations without being exposed to the work of Abraham Maslow. He concentrated on the satisfaction of needs basic to man, not merely those associated with a specific type of experience. His work should serve as a broad basis whereby motivations to engage in wilderness experiences may be explained, and upon which a more detailed examination of motivations may be based.

Man's Basic Needs

Maslow (1970) classified human motivational life according to basic and fundamental goals or needs. These needs are arranged in a hierarchy of relative prepotency, with each level requiring satisfaction before the next, higher level can be pursued. Maslow identifies five levels of needs: physiological; safety; belongingness and love; esteem; and self-actualisation. Interrelated with these five levels of needs are cognitive needs (the need to know and understand) and aesthetic needs.

The factors making up the levels of Maslow's hierarchy comprise a fairly comprehensive list of needs. The hierarchical structure of his proposed domains may be challenged, especially for those needs beyond the physiological, but the range of needs listed is quite extensive. Maslow's hierarchy of needs serves as a framework for understanding human needs and corresponding actions; it provides a broad base for more specific evaluations of human behaviour.

The needs wilderness travellers might be motivated to fulfil would no doubt fall somewhere within the five broad levels presented by Maslow. Needs satisfied through engagement in recreational activities, especially in outdoor and wilderness settings, should however be indicative of more clearly defined categories of motivations to engage in wilderness travel.

Satisfaction of Needs through Recreation

The major goal of recreation and leisure services is to contribute to an individual's satisfaction and enjoyment (Beard and Ragheb, 1980), with enjoyment being the single strongest motivator of recreational engagement (Graefe et al, 1981). A number of studies have attempted to categorize recreational motivations into distinct domains, among them: Driver and Tocher (1970); Tinsley and Kass (1979); Crandall (1980); Pierce (1980); Graefe et al (1981); and Beard and Ragheb (1980, 1983). These studies utilised a wide variety of techniques to identify categories of motivations to recreate which were not dependent on any specific setting.

Driver and Tocher (1970) identified motives to recreate as being for: affiliation; the need to achieve; pursuit of status; satisfaction of exploratory needs; and as a creative function. They went on to develop a nine point recreational scale consisting of: stress release/ escape; achievement/autonomy; action/excitement; affiliation; self awareness; social recognition; learning; solitude and experiencing nature. Driver and Tocher saw recreation as being a state of mind, with the ultimate goal being self-actualisation. Disengagement from the routine was identified as the most important motivator for outdoor recreation.

Graefe et al (1981) utilised Driver and Tocher's nine point scale in their study, reducing it first to seven,

then to five factors. The five factors that they identified, with their predictive values, were: learning/experiencing nature (.98); stress release/ solitude (.98); affiliation (.90); achievement (.91); and self awareness (.90). Graefe et al reduced the original nine factors to five because they found these five factors accurately predicted nearly all motivations to recreate.

Pierce (1980) attempted to identify fundamental variables applicable to both work and leisure. He conducted two studies, with four factors: intimacy, achievement, relaxation, and power replicating perfectly between the two. Further general factors identified were novelty, intellection, and time filling. He also found excitement and transcendence to be significant factors, depending on the actor and the activity.

Tinsley and Kass (1970), in a study utilising quite different techniques, came up with ten factors applicable to all leisure activities, and eight leisure activity specific factors. The first seven factors, which were found to apply to both of the categories in this study were: self-actualisation; companionship; power; compensation; security; social service; and intellectual asceticism. The three additional factors added to the category applicable to all leisure activities were: exercise; self esteem; and self control; while the eighth leisure activity specific factor was autonomy.

The results of the studies by Pierce (1980) and by Tinsley and Kass (1970), conducted totally independently, demonstrated remarkable similarity. Pierce's achievement and Tinsley's self actualisation factors were comprised of the same items, the intimacy and companionship factors were synonymous, and the power domains were almost identical in the two studies.

Beard and Ragheb (1980) identified a scale of six components of leisure satisfaction, with a total reliability of .96. These components, with their respective reliabilities, were: psychological (.86); educational (.90); physiological (.92); social (.88); relaxation (.85); and aesthetic (.80). The same two researchers later (1983) reduced the seven factors to four major subscales: intellectual; social; competence/ mastery; and stimulus avoidance. They found these four groupings to assess clearly differentiated, comprehensive motives for leisure, with internal reliability scores of from .90 to .92.

Crandall (1980) found that leisure motivations clustered into four broad, general motives, and three specific one item motives. The four general motives were: extraversion (being with others, being creative); privacy and pastoralism (anti-civilisation, liking nature, being alone); achievement (sharing self-worth, exercise, achievement, skill development); and hedonism (thrill seeking, avoiding boredom). The three one item

motives were: learning about new things; doing something simple; and doing something with the family.

The aforementioned studies on leisure and recreation motivations demonstrated quite a high degree of commonality. Four major scales appeared to dominate throughout. These were:

Achievement (Graefe et al, 1981; Pierce, 1980; Crandall, 1980), competence/mastery (Beard and Ragheb, 1983);

Companionship (Tinsley and Kass, 1979), affiliation (Graefe et al, 1981), intimacy/sociability (Pierce, 1980), social (Beard and Ragheb, 1983), doing something with the family, and extraversion (Crandall, 1980);

Stress Release/Solitude (Graefe et al, 1981), relaxation (Pierce, 1980), compensation (Tinsley and Kass, 1979), stimulus avoidance (Beard and Ragheb, 1983), doing something simple, and privacy (Crandall, 1980);

Learning/Experiencing Nature (Graefe et al, 1981), intellectual (Beard and Ragheb, 1983), learning about new things, and pastoralism (Crandall, 1980).

Crandall's (1980) privacy and pastoralism component was divided to better fit the stress release/solitude and learning/experiencing nature factors. His extraversion motive was also split, as its two main components seemed to more appropriately fit into two different categories. The other factors listed above were reproduced from the respective studies without any modifications.

To the four major factors listed above the following should be added: novelty; hedonism; exercise; power; self esteem; and boredom avoidance. The aforementioned studies found these to be significant factors in one's motivation to satisfy needs through recreational engagements. The four primary factors however explained almost all of the variance in the motivation to recreate. The great similarity evident in such a diverse array of studies was noteworthy, with the four major factors being almost identical throughout. There was also consensus on the lesser constructs, but the four primary factors stood out in their remarkable congruency.

The literature reviewed consisted of a wide range of factor analytic studies conducted by a number of independent investigators. The four major motivational domains found to predominate applied to needs which man could satisfy through recreational experiences in any setting. These four domains however incorporate needs which are inherently satisfied through wilderness experiences. Learning/experiencing nature and stress release/solitude are integral components of a wilderness experience, while achievement and companionship needs may also easily be fulfilled, depending on the actions one engages in and with whom one interacts during the course of the experience. Wilderness immersion appears to meet all of the needs identified as being of primary importance in any recreational experience.

Needs Satisfied Through Wilderness Recreation

The aforementioned studies identified categories of needs to engage in recreation, but none of them examined man in wilderness settings. The United States Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) (1962) identified two major groups of motives for visiting wilderness: aesthetic-religious and exit-civilisation. Aesthetic-religious motives arose from the perceived ability of the natural, unspoiled wilderness to inspire and renew the individual, while exit-civilisation motives referred to a general desire to escape from crowded cities and crowded resort areas.

These two broad categories of motives were indicative of the underlying motivation of all wilderness users, but they were not specific enough to be examined in any great depth. Scott and Henderson (1981) have developed a more detailed classification of wilderness travellers. They identified three broad categories: outdoor pursuitists, with an emphasis on psychomotor, action orientation; environmentalists, concentrating on the cognitive and aesthetic; and campers, focusing on the social, affective aspect. These three major categories were further subdivided, with the pursuitists divided into risk recreators, those that seek adventure, and trophy collectors, those that seek to fulfil achievement and challenge needs. The first group would select activities that stress the pursuit of vertigo, while the second

would seek physical challenges or possibly the learning of new skills. The environmentalists were divided into field students, who were in pursuit of knowledge through some form of field studies, and wilderness aesthetics, those who were interested in more ephemeral dimensions, primarily in the appreciation of the beauty of nature in its pure form. The third category, the campers, were divided into three sub-groupings: the existential voyageur, who was primarily interested in using the wilderness experience to search for life's meaning, to better come to understand his own place in the greater order of things; the historical re-explorer, who was primarily interested in the re-enactment of a wilderness experience, such as the retracing of a voyageur route; and the cultural explorer, who was interested primarily in the pursuit of a more primitive lifestyle.

Scott and Henderson (1981) developed their beginning classification system through an open ended questionnaire which they distributed to a number of wilderness outfitters. They conducted a thematic study of the responses to this questionnaire, identifying the dominant themes, upon which they based their "Outdoor Education Kaleidoscope". The categories they have identified provide a framework whereby the primary objectives of wilderness travellers may be classified. Three of the four most important motives identified in the preceding review of studies on recreation: learning/experiencing

nature, achievement, and companionship represent the three major categories of the Scott-Henderson classification system, with the fourth, stress release/ solitude being one of the two major categories identified by the ORRRC (1962).

The Scott-Henderson "Kaleidoscope" appeared to incorporate and explain general motives for wilderness travel, but further examination of the motives which other studies have ascribed to wilderness use seemed to be in order. Catton (1969) perceived wilderness use as being motivated by: the mystery of the wilderness; a quest for uncertainty; the intellectual puzzles nature presents to the human visitor; social contact with chosen others; a quest for privacy through geographic remoteness; an attraction to the natural wonders; escape from the horrors of the city; and the desire to live in a normally and socially dependable world for a while. Several motivational dimensions emerged which had not appeared in the literature related to recreation in general. These were particularly the mystery of the wilderness, a quest for uncertainty, and the desire to live in a normally and socially dependable world for a while. There also appeared to be a somewhat different perspective on the learning/experiencing nature component; Catton saw people being attracted to the "natural wonders" of the wilderness, as well as to the "intellectual puzzles" nature presented them with.

Knopf (1982) identified eight clusters of outdoor recreation motives. These were: learning; escape; family; power; simplicity; exercise; and heterosexual contact. These motive clusters very closely resembled those identified for recreation in general, with the one additional grouping, heterosexual contact, comprising part of the intimacy/companionship component.

Brown and Haas (1980) found eight domain clusters of psychological outcomes sought by wilderness users. The first six, seen to add to the wilderness experience, were: for a relationship with nature; to escape pressures; for achievement; for autonomy; to reflect on personal values; and to share recollections. The other two domains identified, seen as neither adding to nor detracting from the experience, were risk taking and meeting/observing other people. Again the clusters of desired experience outcomes closely matched those identified for recreation in other environments, with the addition of the reflection on personal values and a greater emphasis on autonomy. Autonomy is closely linked to personal freedom, which Heberlein (1973) found to be an integral component of wilderness experiences.

Rosenthal et al (1982) investigated the construct validity of psychometric scales designed to measure desired motivational experiences. Seven scales were found to be valid differentiators, perceived as being important to back country users. These motivational

constructs were: exploration; escape role overload; general nature experience; introspection; exercise; being with similar people; and seeking exhilaration. Introspection would appear to match the "reflection on personal values" identified by Brown and Haas. The new construct identified in this study was that of exploration, although Driver and Tocher had determined that exploration was one of the basic motivations to recreate in their original study in 1970. It would however appear logical to assume that exploration needs could be satisfied more easily in a wilderness environment than in other, more familiar surroundings.

Abscher and Lee (1981) constructed wilderness recreation motive categories in a study on the perception of crowding in wilderness settings. The categories identified were: exit civilisation; aesthetic/symbolic; quietude/solitude; nature involvement; physical activity; self awareness/social identity; and shared experience. Once again there was reference to the study of self, while the aesthetic/symbolic category represented a unique, interesting addition to the motivational domains identified by other researchers. The wilderness setting was seen as providing the opportunity for aesthetic, symbolically meaningful or emotional experiences, including religious ones. This represented the second of the two broad all-encompassing motives for wilderness recreation identified by the ORRRC in 1962.

The wilderness environment added ephemeral dimensions to the recreational motive domains identified for other settings. The intrinsic beauty of the natural world, the power of her elements and the intrinsic majesty of her creation exerted a great influence on the individual (Gibson, 1977). Motivational dimensions attributed specifically to the wilderness setting were: the desire to engage in aesthetic, symbolically meaningful experiences; the desire to live in a morally and socially dependable world for a while; an attraction to the mystery of the wilderness; a need to explore; a quest for knowledge about oneself, and a greater need for autonomy.

The six motive constructs identified as being specific to wilderness experiences may of course also be fulfilled through experiences in other settings, but they have been identified as representing significant factors in the desire to recreate in wilderness settings. These, added to the four primary motivations identified as being integral to recreational experiences in general, should explain the full spectrum of motivations people might have to engage in wilderness recreation. The studies which formed the basis from which these constructs were extrapolated were conducted by a number of independent investigators, using a variety of different techniques, over a wide range in locales and time periods. The ten motive constructs which emerged from these studies were based on a very broad range of potential motives.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the reasons people might have to engage in wilderness travel. The needs basic to man, as postulated by Maslow, were reviewed in order to establish a framework whereby more specific motivations could be examined and explained. The next step was to examine the needs seen as being fulfilled through a broad range of recreational experiences, regardless of the setting. Several studies focusing on this subject were reviewed, with four major categories of motivations emerging. These four categories were then supplemented by six clusters of motives a number of independent investigators found to be specific to wilderness experiences.

The ten categories of motives to engage in wilderness travel experiences which emerged from the review of this diverse array of studies on motivation were:

1-Learning/Experiencing Nature-that one will become involved with nature, learning more about nature, and oneself in relation to nature, in an experiential manner;

2-Stress Release/Solitude-that one will escape the tensions and stress of everyday life, to recuperate through an experience involving solitude or privacy;

3-Companionship-that one will share the experience with others, resulting in a feeling of intimacy;

4-Achievement-that one will achieve a feeling of mastery by meeting challenges or developing skills;

5-Aesthetic/Symbolic-that one will be exposed to aesthetically pleasing, symbolically meaningful or emotional experiences brought on by the grandeur of the environment;

6-Dependability-that one will live in a normally and socially dependable world for a while;

7-Mystery-that one will become immersed in a mysterious environment, the inner workings of which are unknown;

8-Exploration-that one will venture into unknown areas, see new places;

9-Introspection-that one will have the opportunity to learn more about oneself within the physical environment and/or within the social group;

10-Autonomy- that one will be free to do and act as one sees fit, that one will enjoy considerable freedom from external constraints.

The aforementioned motivations to engage in wilderness experiences were not meant to describe exhaustive, nor mutually exclusive categories. The wilderness traveller may be motivated to fulfil several or all of the categories of needs listed, depending on the characteristics of a particular experience. An individual should however demonstrate an inclination toward one of these areas, which would result in a special emphasis being awarded to the satisfaction of the needs comprising that category.

Some motives that had been identified as being quite specific to the situation, such as excitement and transcendence, were not included as distinct categories. They were seen as being applicable to all wilderness experiences in varying degrees. Scott and Henderson would probably have assigned these motives to their "risk recreator" and "wilderness aesthetic" categories, but they could also apply to their third major dimension, the "campers". Anyone in pursuit of a cultural, historical or primitive form of existence could easily experience excitement and transcendence above and beyond that characteristic of everyday life.

Three of the four primary categories of needs seen as being applicable to all recreational experiences were found to be representative of the three major classes postulated by Scott-Henderson. "Learning/experiencing nature" would be the underlying motivation of the "environmentalists", the "pursuitists" would be motivated by "achievement", while the "campers" would be attracted by the "companionship" inherent to a shared camping experience. The fourth major category of motivations found to be applicable to any recreational setting, the search for "stress release/ solitude", would appear to fit all three of Scott and Henderson's categories. One could construe this search as being a personal challenge, as being integral to the wilderness environment, or as an important component of a more primitive lifestyle.

Of the six categories of motives found to be specific to the wilderness setting only two appeared to fit easily into any one particular category of the Scott-Henderson model. "Introspection" would seem to be part of the "affective" camping experience, where one could learn more about oneself in interaction with others, while the expectation that one would engage in "aesthetic/symbolic" experiences was one of the major motivators of the "environmentalist". Of the final four the need for "dependability" would most likely fit into the cognitive "environmentalist" category, but it could also be part of the characteristics of an earlier, simpler form of life associated with "camping". The "mystery" inherent to the wilderness environment would probably result in the motivation to learn more about that setting, but it could also be construed as being part of a different, unknown lifestyle (camping) or as representing a physical challenge one might have to overcome (pursuitist). "Exploration" could also motivate either the "camper", the "environmentalist" or the "pursuitist", while "autonomy" seems to be an integral part of any wilderness experience. The difficulty in placing the needs for autonomy, exploration, mystery, dependability and stress release/solitude into any one category of the Scott-Henderson model may have been due to these categories of motivations being characteristic of most wilderness experiences, not of any one area of interest.

Wilderness experiences may potentially satisfy all of man's needs. Of the five levels Maslow considered as being basic to man the level one needs, biological requirements such as food, water and homeostasis, have to all intents and purposes become sublimated in modern industrialised society. Few among us need fear starving or freezing to death. A wilderness experience may however expose the individual to a condition where the satisfaction of such basic needs is no longer guaranteed. The wilderness traveller may be forced to physically ensure his very existence, thereby meeting a challenge to fulfil needs to which one may never be exposed in everyday life.

Maslow's second level needs, while they are concerns for many in modern life, also definitely constitute a focal point of wilderness travel. Safety, both personal and of the travel group, is always a very real and prominent concern of wilderness travellers.

Maslow's third level, belongingness and love needs, would appear to be the basis for one of the major motives ascribed to recreational experiences in general, companionship. The fourth level, esteem needs, are fulfilled by another of the primary motives to recreate, the need to experience achievement. These two levels of needs represent integral components of any recreational experience, regardless of the setting, but are very easily fulfilled through wilderness travel.

The highest level of human needs indicated by Maslow, self-actualisation, is the need to become all one is capable of becoming. In order to fully realise one's potential one must understand one's place in the greater order of things, which may be most apparent in wilderness settings. One need only look at the great figures in history who have gone forth into the wilderness, often onto a mountaintop, to be given some manifest destiny by their respective Deity, to realize the limitless potential wilderness has as an ideal setting to fulfil this very highest of needs.

It was of interest to note that Maslow had interrelated an aesthetic and a cognitive component with his five levels of needs. Maslow seemed to have had trouble with these constructs, as he attached them as an addendum, rather than attempting to incorporate them into one of his levels. Wilderness experiences however address these two issues directly, with a motivational category being ascribed to each. The cognitive component represents the very foundation of one of the primary motives ascribed to recreation in general, "learning/ experiencing nature", while the aesthetic component has been identified as one of the categories of motives specific to wilderness. Both of these constructs, which apparently presented Maslow with some difficulty, represent distinct categories of needs met through wilderness experiences.

The five levels of needs that Maslow had identified as being basic to man may all be addressed and fulfilled through wilderness travel experiences. Wilderness travel is after all not that foreign to man, it was a way of life long before any concept of "wilderness" ever came into being. Man met all his needs in roaming through the wilderness for millenia before he became "civilised", there is no reason why he should not do so today.

Maslow's levels of needs were all-encompassing, and gave a good perspective on the range of human needs which could be satisfied through wilderness experiences, but they were too broad to be of much use in explaining individual motivations to travel in wilderness settings. The Scott-Henderson "Kaleidoscope" was very interesting, and seemed to have captured the dominant thrusts in wilderness travel, but it also tended to generalise somewhat. The categories of motivations evident in the literature appeared to lose some of their unique character when applied to the "Kaleidoscope".

The most appropriate method to explain individual expectations of wilderness travel appeared to be the use of the ten specific motive categories which have emerged from this review of the motivational literature. A person might be motivated to fulfil more than one of these categories, but they refer to distinct, reasons people have to travel in the wilderness. They should serve as a strong basis to explain individual actions.

CHAPTER 6

A WILDERNESS TRAVEL PROGRAM

The primary purpose of this study was to observe people actually travelling in wilderness settings. To date the study had concentrated on the development of a theoretical framework of possible expectations applicable to wilderness travel. The perceptions of wilderness, especially those which appeared to be inherent to the Canadian wilderness, and the potential motivations to recreate in wilderness settings apparent in the literature gave a good indication of why people might choose to travel in this environment. Now the time had come to actually observe people, to determine what underlying expectations of wilderness travel their actions might be indicative of.

The wilderness travellers chosen were apprised of the fact that they were to be the subjects of a study, that one of their members would be a participant observer recording their actions and expressions. The disclosure of this information was considered to be necessary so as to minimize any potential problems associated with role pretending. The participant observer did not feel that the aims of the study could be properly addressed without the consent of the participants, as he did not want to be surreptitious in his observations. The wilderness travel program appropriate for this study therefore had to consist of people who did not object to being observed.

The University Of Alberta Explorations Program

The author was already part of a suitable wilderness travel program. The previous year he had travelled extensively with a small group, one of these excursions being the previously illustrated Buffalo Narrows to Fort McMurray snowshoe trip. During these expeditions he had developed both his wilderness travel skills and his ability to objectively observe his fellow travellers. The wilderness travel program he had been involved with appeared to lend itself well to this study, with his role as graduate assistant placing him in an ideal position to be an objective participant observer.

The primary focus of the University of Alberta Explorations Program was on an intense interaction with the natural environment. Senior outdoor education students in the Department of Physical Education and Sport Study who volunteered to take part were given the opportunity to be totally autonomous in the design of their program of studies for the year. The first school term was spent taking regular university courses, while the group was planning their expeditions. The second term was spent finalizing preparations, completing specialized courses, and back country touring. The expeditions always involved some form of traditional self-propelled wilderness travel, with past explorations generally focusing on canoeing during the fall, and snowshoeing and high country ski touring in the winter.

The Explorations program was based on experiential learning; students learned to do by doing. This applied not only to the actual travel period, but also to the extensive preparation and planning required for each expedition. The students planned and implemented the program themselves, using all of the physical and human resources at their disposal to ensure successful ventures. The University of Alberta Outdoor Education faculty acted strictly as advisors, although one member, usually a graduate student, was assigned to travel with the group. This individual's mandate was to be a participating member without exerting undue influence on the group. This was to ensure that the development of the participants was not stymied by the presence of a recognizable "leader". Participants were encouraged to utilise the explorations program to improve their own leadership skills.

The only prerequisite to participating in the explorations program was the completion of warm and cold weather outdoor education courses at the University of Alberta, or an equivalent amount of training in the outdoors. The safety of the participants and the success of the expeditions required the mastery of basic outdoor living and survival skills prior to the start of the program. In order to fully prepare themselves for the rigours of the expeditions the students also took part in a number of specific training sessions.

Communications and leadership development, Canadian Ski Association Tour Leader and eighty hour Wilderness Medical Technician courses were among those completed as part of the training program of the 1982/83 and 1983/84 explorations groups. The group members felt that the information and personal skills development resulting from these courses was essential to the implementation of the program. The courses were not required, as there were no official requirements, but the group members all concurred that these skills were essential to the success of the respective expeditions.

The explorations program centered around a holistic, integrated approach to outdoor education. Participants became totally immersed in the out-of-doors for extended periods. This allowed the students to experience and study natural life by living in close communion with nature. Plant life, animal life, the stars, the physical environment and the weather became the dominant aspects of life as the participants shed the trappings of civilisation. The students soon came to realize that nature was neutral, neither an ally nor a foe. The early emphasis on basic survival rapidly gave way to an enjoyment of the qualities associated with an earlier way of living.

The acquisition of outdoor skills, while being of primary importance, was not the sole objective of the program. The natural setting lent itself ideally to

first hand field studies in environmental education. Past studies students have chosen to conduct included geology, geography, botany, astrology and meteorology. These studies in the physical sciences were augmented by examinations of social concerns, such as the interaction within the group, the development of individual leadership styles, and the manner in which people coped with the stress of wilderness life. The participants were given a unique opportunity to study areas of special interest, with the diversity of studies being indicative of the range of interests prevalent in the respective travel groups.

The prolonged wilderness experiences gave potential outdoor educators the opportunity to assess themselves in the out-of-doors. To this assessment of self within the physical environment was added the examination of self as a group member. During the extended expeditions the social group environment often became more difficult to cope with than the physical environment. The vastness of the wilderness, combined with the pressures of living under often extreme climactic conditions, forced the participants into close proximity. The groups were placed in a position where the members had to interact closely to maximize each other's potential. The social skills necessary to maintain the group cohesion essential to wilderness travel were developed during these extended periods of intense exposure.

The exploration of self, self in the group, and the social environment was further augmented by studies of the extended social environment. This included the study of the history of the area to be visited, focusing on those who had lived in and travelled through the area before. The desired end result of these studies was the recreation of an earlier lifestyle, with all its inherent hardships, but also with all of the beauty and simplicity associated with a more primitive, nature-bound way of living and travelling.

The explorations groups began planning their trips by early January, a full year in advance of the winter expeditions. The earliest considerations were the mode of travel to be employed, and the selection of possible routes. Traditional modes of travel were felt to be essential to the objectives of the explorations programs, with both the 1982/83 and 1983/84 groups planning canoe, snowshoe and cross country ski expeditions.

The routes chosen had one major common denominator, all were staged in wilderness settings. The second snowshoe expedition, retracing the beginning of the Klondike Trail from Vega Ferry on the Athabasca river to Swan Hills, however experienced some difficulty with this mandate. The intense oil field activity in the area had resulted in the creation of numerous roads and cutlines that were not indicated on any maps. This was a source of major disappointment for the team, as it seemed

impossible to avoid the signs of human visitation. The only stretch of the old Klondike Trail the team was able to follow undisturbed ran along a narrow, rough ridge that was impassable to anything larger than snowmobiles. During this section the explorations team was able to put the many signs of human visitation out of their minds, but the ridge soon levelled out again, and the travellers found themselves following four wheel drive tracks.

The original trail ran along the most logical route through this region, subsequent hunters and trappers saw no reason to travel elsewhere. The only sections of the trail that were not travelled by some form of vehicle were so densely grown in with spruce and poplar trees that it was impossible to pull the toboggans through. The Explorations members resigned themselves to their fate,. and followed cutlines for the first several days as they wound their way toward the rougher country near Deer Mountain. Once they were close enough all other traffic disappeared, and they were able to enjoy a wilderness experience. The historical "Killer Ridge", so named because of the incredible numbers of livestock and humans that perished there during the height of the Klondike Gold Rush, marked the beginning of a real wilderness experience, which continued on up to the top of Deer Mountain. Those last three days the expeditions team travelled through extremely rugged terrain, which elicited a very positive response from everyone.

The Klondike Trail snowshoe expedition was however the only one out of the six major expeditions that exhibited any problem with a lack of true wilderness. The first canoe expedition, from Grande Cache to Highway 31 near Grande Prairie, while it encountered one other party of canoeists, was set in a pristine wilderness environment. The second, one year later, followed suit. It followed the Athabasca River from Calling Lake, near the town of Athabasca, to Fort McMurray, through a stretch of country that can only be reached with considerable difficulty by air or water. Both of these canoe expeditions gave the participants the opportunity to immerse themselves into the late summer environment, removed from any significant contact with humans.

The two ski expeditions also took place in beautiful wilderness environments. The first was set in quite an exotic locale: Tweedsmuir Park in west central British Columbia. For this expedition the group was flown in to a base camp, from which they conducted several exciting ski tours into the surrounding mountain ranges. The only sign of life during the two weeks they were there was a wolverine disappearing over the next range; the team was happy to see this dangerous creature leave. The second ski tour took place in the Wilmore Wilderness northwest of Hinton. Neither of these expeditions encountered humans between the time they began to where the pick up vehicle arrived on the scene.

The fifth expedition, the Buffalo Narrows to Garson Lake snowshoe expedition, was described in great detail in Chapter 1 of this study. Suffice it to say it was a wilderness experience of epic proportions, an experience upon which some of the idealistic expectations that caused the only real problems for the Klondike Trail expedition were based. The members of the 1983/84 team who spent considerable time with the Buffalo Narrows group found the Klondike Trail expedition to be somewhat anticlimactic. The Deer Mountain section was a great wilderness experience, but the rest of the journey could not live up to the perception of the wilderness the earlier expedition had taken place in.

The respective explorations groups were responsible for all of the planning involved in their expeditions. The participants were given free rein throughout this process. Each group member was encouraged to create his or her own unique picture of what it was that constituted an appropriate wilderness experience. The individual expectations of the respective wilderness expeditions were then combined to establish the group objectives. The 1983/84 group especially spent considerable time and effort on the identification of individual and group objectives. This appeared to be an ongoing process, with individual expectations evolving throughout the course of the program. The result was a number of distinct, unique expeditions which took place within the group context.

CHAPTER 7

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF A WILDERNESS TRAVEL GROUP

The Klondike Trail Snowshoe Expedition

Our explorations team became acquainted with each other during a canoe expedition early in the fall. We then spent the fall and early winter completing our preparations for a snowshoe expedition, putting a great deal of time and energy into the identification of individual and group expectations. Once our preparations were completed I distributed a questionnaire to the group, to identify their expectations immediately prior to departure. The responses to these questionnaires were sealed and filed without being read, as I did not want my observations to be influenced by some prior indication of peoples' expectations. Upon completion of the expedition the subjects were interviewed to determine how their expectations might have evolved, and the degree to which their expectations had been fulfilled.

During the Buffalo Narrows expedition I had become totally involved in the experience, definitely exerting a strong influence on the others. For the Klondike Trail expedition I planned to assume a much more detached role, focusing on recording individual actions and expressions, interactions between group members, and with the physical environment. These observations, augmented by the questionnaires and interviews, were to cast some light on the various experiences occurring within the group.

Our plan was to retrace a section of the Chalmers Trail, the beginning stage of the old Klondike Trail, from Vega Ferry on the Athabasca River to Deer Mountain in the Swan Hills. This was the primary overland route Klondike gold seekers had followed on their way up to the Yukon. We calculated it would take us about fourteen days to cover the distance, travelling through some very rugged terrain. All the information available on this route indicated that it would provide us with some difficult travelling conditions. Numerous Klondikers had never made it past this early portion of the trail; many were forced to turn back, more had died before laying eyes on Lesser Slave Lake from the top of Deer Mountain.

On the first of February we arrived at Vega Ferry, where we spent the next three days receiving instruction in wilderness living skills. We enjoyed unseasonably warm temperatures, about 5^0C during the day, dipping to 0^0C at night. Our acclimatisation into the wilderness was very gradual, we were even based at an established campsite, complete with a picnic shelter and outhouses.

The first three days passed quickly, our instructor left and we prepared to hit the trail. Before we started off we went over our equipment, and also our proposed travel and leadership styles. We decided on a semiformal leader of the day, an "initiator", with the group members providing the respective leader with feedback on the quality of the leadership at the end of the day.

On our fourth day we were finally on the trail, with our travel being along a power line for about fifteen kilometers. There was not much snow, as it had been above freezing for some time. We were happy there had been snowmobile traffic, as the hardpacked track was the only snow left to pull our toboggans on. We worked our way up some short but steep hills, with everyone helping each other on the steepest sections. Everyone really had fun sliding down the hills, often crashing and tumbling off the toboggans on the way. Jane especially stood out. She would go out of her way to run up hills along the way, just to enjoy the ride back down. She seemed to be a real fun seeker, always on the run, flying up and down the hills. Her high level of activity resulted in a great appetite for her small size, the source of much amusement for the rest of the group.

Doug meanwhile was having a bad experience. He had left camp last, adding a left over food bag to his already overloaded toboggan. He spent most of the day righting his top heavy unit, becoming very frustrated in the process. At lunch time we removed some of the weight, which balanced his load better, but it took a while before his good humour was restored. He could not help laughing, however, when we took our joker Bob and gave him twenty-three birthday bumps on the ice.

Kathy was our leader this first day; she performed well, moving up and down the group, assisting physically

or with a friendly word when the going got rough. In the evening we missed our turn to the west while travelling through a desolate burn area, and had to backtrack a short distance. At this point she seemed to fade out, leaving the selection of a campsite to others in the group. She seemed to really enjoy the social element of wilderness travel; she was very good at talking, at drawing others out, but did not like to be directive.

Our campsite the first night on the trail was nothing to write home about. There were not many live trees around, just burned stumps and decaying logs. The ground was covered with hummocks: we were definitely in muskeg country. I was happy we were moving through this area in the winter. The black flies and mosquitoes, together with the soft ground, would probably make summer time travel in this region very difficult.

Ava lead us out on our second day. She was an efficient leader, although she may have to learn to be more assertive. We were a little slow getting started and moving, as Ava did not like to impose her will on the others. Everyone moved at their own pace. That appeared to be the way Ava was approaching this experience. She did not appear to have many preconceived notions, desiring nothing more than the personal freedom and the flexibility to enjoy whatever came up along the way.

After the first three kilometers of cutline we suddenly came out on a road which was not marked on our

maps. During the next ten days we were to come across many such roads, pushed through in the last year due to the heavy oil field activity in the area. We ended up walking along a road for about seven kilometers, until we came to a point where it curved off and we could once again follow our trail.

Shortly after we were on the trail again we encountered an old trapper, who had lived in the area for over sixty years. He was able to fill us in on some fascinating history of the area, and also gave us directions to where the old Chalmers Trail ran from Kathryn Lake to Deer Mountain. The trail was not marked on any maps, and was almost totally overgrown, so we were happy that this interesting old man was able to direct us from his own first hand experience.

We camped a short distance down the trail from the trapper's cabin, in a small clearing on a hillside. After supper we had a sharing session. Our group consensus was that the expedition so far had not lived up to our expectations in respect to the physical exertion, the amount of snow, the temperature, and the wilderness component. It had been a beautiful outdoor experience, with temperatures consistently above freezing, but the many unexpected roads had detracted from the wilderness flavour, and had made travel very easy. Everyone had expected to battle more, engaging in a struggle to cover the daily distance through more rugged, untouched

terrain. Bob especially seemed to be looking for more of a challenge. In response to my question as to how he felt about the trip so far he replied: "Pretty easy. Not really too much of a challenge. I hope it snows a lot and gets lots colder".

I asked the group if a fair assessment would be that they felt there had been a lack of physical challenge and of wilderness so far. Several people spoke up, stating that they felt we were in a wilderness setting right at that moment, in our campsite. They felt that the proximity of the roads, cutlines and power lines did not detract from their feelings of being immersed in a wilderness setting. They really felt isolated in both campsites, despite knowing the roads they had travelled along to get there were still close by. It seems to all boil down to one's personal definition of "wilderness". Our campsite was definitely in a beautiful spot, if we had not known that there was a road less than 500 meters away nobody would have suspected it.

Everyone expected the expedition to become much more difficult in terms of physical challenge, and to show less sign of human contact. The next section of the trail was definitely going to be more exciting. It was much wilder and more rugged, going by our maps and the trapper's stories. On our third day we finally did get away onto a wilder stretch of trail. There were however still snowmobile tracks , as this was part of a trapline.

Lana, who was our leader, showed her experience in wilderness travel. She selected excellent lunch and camp stops, and kept close tabs on how everyone was doing. During the day I spoke with her a couple of times. She said: "So, Ingo, are you sad? No challenge, no cold, easy travel?" I responded no, I was enjoying travelling in the sunshine. She then said: "Yes, it sure is beautiful, I love being here." She seems to be very comfortable in her natural environment, placing the joy of living outdoors above any challenge component. During our discussion the night before she had stated that she was not searching for any particular "wilderness", simply being outside was just fine. Lana was probably our most accomplished bush person next to Doug. She seemed to be in full harmony with her environment, quickly becoming totally immersed in bush living. She was a "natural" wilderness traveller.

Just after we left the road to start down the old trail I had the opportunity to speak with Doug. He was taking a very inactive leadership role, as he did not want to influence the group too much. During the pre-trip planning it had become apparent that he was dominating, due to his level of experience in the outdoors, and he meant to minimize this effect on the trail. Now he said: "I think I just did things more efficiently so I got them done faster. That is why people thought I was dominating."

Doug was very at home in the bush, probably the most so of anyone in our group, and he kept learning more about his environment. He was very interested in furthering his own knowledge, always stopping to check out things which interested him, never hesitating to experiment with new ideas. He was definitely looking for more of a physical challenge than he had experienced to date. He said: "You know what I would really like to do? Get together with a couple of guys who can really go for it and go for a real long trip, like about 300 miles, with just staples. Get a couple of food drops, take a pack frame, no matches or anything, just minimal gear and just cruise. I'd like for it to be a winter trip, probably through the mountains." It was readily apparent that Doug and Bob both wanted to work harder, to extend themselves in facing a stronger environmental and physical challenge.

That night we fulfilled the need for a greater challenge in a small way; we slept outside under the stars. It was so warm we did not even need a tent. During the day it was 12^{0}C, almost too hot to travel. It was more like fall than winter. We kept waiting for the boom to drop on us, but the weather held out. I could not believe how warm it was.

Suzanna was our leader today. She did well, having to make more route choices than anyone to date, due to the many forks in the trail. We made good time, as the

snowmobile track was well packed. At lunch time we met the trapper who had bought the trapline from the retired trapper we had met earlier. He invited us to spend the night at his cabin, which was right on the next section of Chalmers Trail. We followed his directions, reaching his cabin in the late afternoon, but we decided to move a little further before camping. There were several beaver, marten, coyote, lynx and squirrelcarcasses around his camp. It was an inte4resting place, but we did not want to sleep right there among the dead animals.

Doug, Lana and Pat really lagged behind most of the day. As Pat said: "I don't really like travelling in a big pack." Pat was, above all else, our true field student. She was constantly reading about indigenous plants and their uses, and was looking for and selecting specimens from the forest as we travelled through it. She was working on native medicines, remedies and concoctions. The others were calling her the "medicine woman", "the shaman", "the witch doctor" and similar names. "I hope someone gets sick soon, so I can try out some of my remedies", was her only response.

Pat was becoming very involved with her environment. She always took the time to look at, touch, feel and smell the objects of interest along the way, also tasting occasionally. She really had all of her five senses involved in her study of the environment. It was readily apparent that she was learning more each day.

Our fifth day on the trail we started right out with some tough travel, following the old Chalmers Trail along ridges between the low, marshy ground on both sides. The trail was only faintly visible at the best of times, but we had no problem due to the good directions our trapper friends had given us. Travelling along this narrow trail through the rough, hilly terrain was very "authentic pioneer action", as Bob put it. It was difficult to tell exactly where we were due to the high spruce, pine, and even fir closely bordering the trail. We often ran into bare patches, with the lay of the land dictating that they be on the uphill sections, which made travel that much more difficult. Jane, who was our leader today, was her usual bundle of energy, running back and forth to help out wherever the going was the worst. She was as quiet as always, but communicated very well in a nonverbal way, offering a great deal of encouragement as we moved along this difficult section of the trail.

We continued along this rugged trail until early afternoon, when we reached the cutline at "Moosehead Junction", which the trappers had told us to watch for. The spot was marked with a large moose head which was tied to a tree, hence our name for the location. From there we travelled another two kilometers, across a small river to our campsite for the night. We did not set up tents, as it was very warm again. Everyone really seemed to enjoy the experience of sleeping out under the stars.

After supper we had an impromptu debriefing, concentrating on what everyone felt differentiated the Explorations experience from any other trip; and on where people were at, what they were experiencing so far. People seemed to feel that the group experience, the social interaction, was the most important factor in the explorations journey. The melding together of such a diverse group, in terms of skill level, fitness level and individual expectations, to form a cohesive social unit, striving toward a common goal, was considered to be the very essence of the Explorations experience.

The general consensus was that people were happy, although Bob still wanted more of a physical challenge, and Doug felt we could be more efficient, quicker, getting started in the mornings. We also discovered that everyone was selecting a position they enjoyed within the group when we were travelling, although Lana expressed some concern that others might not want to be waiting for her during her frequent stops. She need not have worried, as everyone else was also enjoying the stops. Some enjoyed being near the lead, so they could scout around while waiting for the rest of the group, while others would rather be near the rear, exploring a bit, and then going harder to catch up again. Everyone seemed to be quite happy with the way things were working out, although there was some concern that Doug especially was not being sufficiently stimulated by the experience.

The one overriding concern that emerged from this debriefing was that people should never go into such an experience with rigid, preconceived expectations, as there were just too many variables to be considered. People should always allow themselves the opportunity to make the best of any situation, which did not seem to be possible if only one specific set of circumstances could ensure the satisfaction of their needs.

A case in point was the current situation, where everyone had been expecting deep snow, extremely cold temperatures, and an environment demonstrating little or no sign of human contact. Bob and Doug, who had based their expectations on numerous discussions with the previous year's explorations group, had been quite set in their belief that they would be enjoying a similar experience. Now they were having considerable difficulty adjusting to meet the current, much milder situation, whereas those with less well defined expectations were adapting to the changing conditions quite well. There was no reason not to enjoy the balmy temperatures, the beautiful sunshine and the easy travel, unless one was expecting something so different that the two extremes could not mesh. Our conclusion was that one's expectations must never be so rigid as to preclude the enjoyment of any but the most clearly defined, appropriate experience. There did not seem to be much sense in not enjoying whatever came up.

The lack of physical hardships characteristic of this expedition may have caused some people great difficulty adjusting, but it also set the stage for a greater emphasis on the social environment. The mere fact that we could spend time around the campfire in the evenings, instead of quickly getting into our tents in order to escape the elements, caused a far greater degree of social interaction to take place. The learning may not have been any more significant than that which would take place in a more stressful environment, but the opportunity to get to know each other through more customary social processes was there.

Kathy, who was probably our resident "socialite", was quite visibly at her best during these campfire discussions, drawing the more reticent people out to share their thoughts and feelings. Lana was also very adept at making sure everyone was heard, that nobody was overlooked just because they were not willing to speak up on their own. A strong emphasis on consensus decision making had emerged, with everyone being extremely conscious of the group. As Ava put it, "if you were doing something by yourself or with a group you were leading you would just do it. If you want to do something here you check out to see what everyone else is doing." One potential problem with this situation was that everything could be talked to death, with endless discussions precluding quick actions from taking place.

Our little debriefing had obviously resulted in the generation of some good thoughts, which accompanied us to our widely scattered beds. The night was once again wonderfully clear. Our worst fear as we prepared ourselves for one more sleep under the stars was the possibility of heavy frost on our exposed sleeping bags.

The next morning we were up early, trying to be more efficient, to get a better start. Suzanna was really flying to get loaded up. Then she suddenly stopped, took a look around at her surroundings, smiled and resumed packing, at a much less torrid pace. As she said later, "I woke up this morning thinking I'll be really efficient today; then I stuffed my bag really quickly, rushed out to my toboggan with it, really efficiently tied my things in, and ran back to camp to get ready for breakfast. Then I said to myself hold it, that's not what it's all about. I stopped rushing around, and just slowed right down to where I was enjoying everything again."

Suzanna was a bit of an enigma. She complained about feeling clumsy in the bush, frequently tripping and stumbling, while she had an eye for beauty second to none. Her expressions always centered around the beauty of a particular setting, her free time was generally spent sketching. For her the wilderness experience appeared to be one of appreciation of the beauty and grandeur of natural scenes, and of becoming a part of those scenes as she passed through them.

Once Suzanna and everyone else was loaded up we started down the trail again. For the first five kilometers we were still on the tough old Chalmers Trail, which required a strong effort from everyone. We had no designated leader this day, as we felt we should also try this technique during our travels. It seemed especially appropriate after our discussions of the previous evening, as we would be practising consensus leadership.

After leaving the trail we again travelled along a cutline, heading due north. We crossed several bisecting lines, then suddenly found ourselves at a dead end. The cutline just stopped, and the forest began. This was an interesting moment in our consensus leadership, as a number of different ideas and actions emerged.

Doug instantly disappeared into the bush, to scout out a trail to a parallel cutline. The rest of us milled about, then some of us also scouted through the bush, while others calculated how far we would have to backtrack to the last cutline we had crossed. The trail through the bush turned out to be too difficult to navigate, so we turned around and retraced our steps back down the cutline. We stopped near a beaver pond, where we prepared a good camp for the night.

We decided to have a rest day so that everyone could pursue their own interests, and also because Kathy's knee had been bothering her during the day. She had been pulling Doug's toboggan, while he pulled the pulk on

Ava's day off, and had experienced trouble with it. It was still a very heavy toboggan, and the many up and downhills placed a great strain on her knee. Doug had offered to pull his own load again, but Kathy refused. As a consequence she suffered through some very acute pain, although she was moving around quite well again by the middle of the next day.

It was interesting to see what everyone would do on their day off, during their discretionary time. Nobody was really moving yet when I got up, so I went for a wide circle around our camp, returning after about an hour. Upon my return I recorded what everyone else was doing. Doug had immediately started to work setting up a fire for a sweat lodge. Several of the girls had started to help each other clean up, washing and combing out each other's hair. Bob soon disappeared to catch up on his logbook, while Lana and Jane went on long solo hikes. Tannis, Ava and Doug then went for a hike down the creek, to where separated ice layers had formed a very picturesque cave.

Pat was out gathering plants, which she had been doing consistently throughout our expedition. Her study of plants had served to really put her in tune with her environment. When Tannis returned with Doug she immediately left again on a solo hike. Doug spent some time writing in his logbook, then he started back to work on the steam bath. Ava had stayed out, continuing from

the creek for a good solo hike. Suzanna had also gone on a cruise on her own. The only people who had not gone for some form of solo were Kathy and Betty, who had stayed close to the campsite throughout.

Betty seemed to willing to take on the role of group organizer. She was always making sure all of our supper things were in order, and that we were not going to be searching for things, especially items that had to do with cooking. On our rest day she also fixed a stove that needed work, as it was smoking badly, and spent some time collecting firewood. Betty seemed to really enjoy the fact that life in wilderness settings could be easily organised. She readily took on responsibilities that had to do with organising the camp, with setting things in order. It also became apparent through our group discussions that the social order, how the individuals interacted with each other, seemed to be a matter of importance to her. These two areas of interest were again apparent in her actions around camp on our day off. During her discretionary time Betty socialized with the people who drifted in and out of camp, while she chose to work on organizing camp, fixing a stove, and checking to make sure the meals were in order. This emphasis on campcraft also extended to the pre-trip planning, where Betty and Kathy had volunteered to take care of the food preparation. Betty seemed to be at her best when she was organising her environment.

Suzanna meanwhile was sketching some of the trees forming the backdrop to our camp. She looked up at the clouds rolling in from the northwest, and said: "I wish I could paint that in oil. It's so beautiful, those dark blue clouds, and the lighter ones." As always, she seemed to cherish the beauty and tranquility of nature above anything else. One of her motivations to take part in wilderness travel was to "escape from the ordinary city life", but it was definitely the beauty of nature that she was constantly reacting to, be it with a sketch pad, or with expressions of appreciation. She was always in a good mood, enjoying her surroundings.

Tannis was helping out everyone with anything they needed. Her favourite word was "beyootifool", everything was always positive in her life. The rest of the group dubbed her "Princess of Onoway" for her constant good nature and willingness to help. She was caught up in the mystery of the natural world, finding everything to be interesting, and worthy of closer inspection. Her greatest enjoyment however seemed to come from helping out others, from just seeing other people having a good time, and from getting out into the environment to see the way everything was interacting. She was very people oriented, with her high points centering around other peoples' positive experiences.

Tannis and the others began to drift back into camp around 16:00. I had crafted a strong ring out of red

ossiered dogwood, originally to use as a pot mat. Now we suddenly found ourselves on the ice of the beaver pond, playing ringette with our homemade ring. It was our "Hockey Night in Canada", a moment everyone treasured, as it was purely for fun. Not for Explorations, not for our comfort in camp, not for anything but pure enjoyment.

We chased the ring around until well after dusk, when it began to disintegrate. By this time we were all quite heated up, and decided it was time for our steam bath. Doug had already started his huge fire, which quickly heated the rocks. Cleaning up felt good.

We were up early after our rest day, and got a good start up the cutline. Travel was quite rough at times, as we were forced to pull our toboggans along a ditch for a good kilometer to bypass a dry stretch of road. Shortly thereafter we came upon a newly constructed powerline, which meant we had to carry our loaded toboggans about 400 meters across the open stretch. Then we started climbing. As we gained altitude we found more snow, by evening it was close to fifty centimeters deep.

Everyone was happy to be in more of a winter wilderness environment, although we were still on a cutline. We did however rediscover the Chalmers Trail, this time without a doubt. There was a plaque nailed to a tree, dated 1967, entitled "Fort Assiniboine to Hi Prairie via the Klondike Trail". We concluded it must have been a centennial project of some sort.

We stopped for lunch at the beginning of the trail. Kathy, Ava and Betty started our meal, while Lana and Bob went ahead to scout the trail. Pat immediately disappeared into the bush again, while Doug went off to collect some tinder fungus. Jane was off gathering firewood, while Suzanna and Tannis stayed near the fire.

After lunch we all scouted the trail, deciding that it was impassable with our toboggans. It would have been good with backpacks, but there were just too many trees and shrubs to pull the toboggans through. Doug wanted to have a go at it anyway, but nobody took him seriously when he suggested it. We retraced our steps and started back up the cutline, ascending into an area which had seen much less traffic. Soon we were up to an altitude where there was good snow cover. Travel was becoming more difficult, but also more of an enjoyable challenge. We were however still travelling on snowmobile tracks, so we still had no need of our snowshoes. Jane put hers on, but it was more for the fun of it than because of any necessity, as she was walking in the deepest snow.

We set up camp high on a hilltop, in deep snow for the first time this trip. After supper we had a sharing circle. It centered around what people thought of the experience so far, in terms of the physical environment, social interaction, pinches and highs and lows. The physical environment was generally seen as lacking in true wilderness, as well as in any challenge component.

Travel had been easy for the most part, along roads, cutlines, and the odd piece of Chalmers Trail. There had been snowmobile or four wheel drive tracks throughout, which definitely detracted from any wilderness experience we may have had. We had only seen one halfton truck since leaving the trapper's cabin, but we just could not seem to escape the signs of man's presence.

Bob stayed true to form, saying that there had not been enough of a physical challenge yet. Earlier he had confided to me that he had not broken into a sweat, that he had never yet had to extend himself physically. He could of course have added to the challenge by pulling his toboggan next to the packed trail, or by overloading it, but it was more than pure physical challenge he was looking for. Bob seemed to want a "more authentic pioneer experience", with all of the inherent hardships, not something artificial like pulling next to the trail to increase the workload.

Suzanna then spoke up, stating that as outdoor leaders we should learn to use the resources at our disposal. If we had well travelled cutlines and warm temperatures, then those were what we had to deal with. She then added that the experience so far had been very beautiful, the weather as well as the terrain being travelled. Kathy concurred, stating that she had really enjoyed the warm weather so far. She added that the weather had played a large part in determining the level

of challenge, as four foot drifts would have made the cutline travel most difficult, and colder temperatures would have added another challenge component. To sum it up the group felt that there had been a definite lack of a wilderness experience so far, but that the trail had been quite challenging, and that the weather had been just beautiful.

The talk next turned to pinches, with only Doug having one. He felt some people's suggestions were not being awarded serious consideration by the group. It seemed he had really wanted to try to strike out up Chalmers Trail at lunch time. He realised this idea was not feasible, so this topic was quickly concluded.

The discussion next turned to individual highs and lows. Jane's high was the day of travel along the old Chalmers Trail, up and down the ridge. Her low was always having wet feet, as the temperature had been far too warm for her mocassins. They had not dried out since day one. Lana's high was just being out there, high on life, high on the people, and being happy and content all the time. Her low was the first day, when she had not taken a food bag, and it had caused Doug so much difficulty. Betty's high was also just being out here, her low was cutting her thumb at lunch time. Pat's high was the stars at night; sleeping outside and waking up to see the stars. Her low was having loaded her toboggan in the morning, then having to watch Bob reload it because

it kept tipping over. Doug's high was just wandering along the trail exploring along the way. His low was seeing what effect his often fluctuating moods were having on the rest of the group. Bob's high was the red ossiered dogwood "Hockey Night in Canada", his low was feeling uneasy about Doug, about feeling alienated from him for a while, when they had long been best of friends. Kathy's high was the weather, and the ringette game, as it was the first thing we had all done together just for fun. Her low was her knee problem from the previous day, listening to everyone discussing what course of action to follow at the dead end cutline, knowing all along that she would not be able to continue regardless of which route we decided on. Tannis' highs were meeting the retired trapper, playing ringette, having breakfast in bed together with Ava and Bob, served by Keith, and the thoughts for the day. Her low was not knowing how to help Doug out of the doldrums the day before. Suzanna's high was being out there, just being away, different scenes, different people, the ringette game, and everything everyone else had said so far. Her low was blundering in the forest, tripping, falling, bumping into trees. She often experienced a feeling of incompetence in the bush.

After our highs and lows we decided to let Lana and Bob leave early in the morning to scout Chalmers Trail, to see if we could possibly travel on it. The rest of us

packed up and hit the trail by 10:30. The first 500 meters was snowmobile track, then we were on untravelled cutline for the rest of the way. Lana and Bob met us just past the end of the snowmobile tracks, where they were spying on two moose. We tried to sneak up on the moose, but we were far to loud and they were long gone by the time we arrived at their beds. Lana and Bob had found the trail, but there was no use in following it.

We spent some time putting our snowshoes on, as it was the first time this trip for all of us except Cleo. Once we had the snowshoes on we climbed up and over one ridge, and then had a wild ride to a creek on the far side, where we stopped for lunch. Everyone felt that this was more like it, this was what we had been missing. We were still on a cutline, but the difference was like night and day. We had navigated a very steep drop on the way down to the creek, which was great fun, and seemed to serve as a form of boundary between us and the well travelled cutlines behind us.

After lunch it was a steady climb uphill, along wild cutlines choked with deadfalls. We were forced to climb up and over, go underneath, and sometimes even had to pick up trees and move them so we could continue. It was hard work, but great! The trail had obviously not been travelled, even by snowmobiles, for years. The deadfalls were just too numerous for any traffic to have gone through. After a steady climb for about four kilometers

we came to a very steep ravine, which we had to descend into and climb back out of. That was as difficult as anything any one of us had previously done on snowshoes. We crossed the next north cutline 200 meters past this ravine, where we camped for the night.

Everyone was really happy that night. We had finally had everything everyone wanted from the physical environment: hard work, steep hills, deep snow, and an area virtually untouched since the cutline was first pushed through. Everyone went to bed tired but happy.

The last day of travel, February 13th, dawned with a slight dusting of wet snow, and quite a cold wind from the northwest. We packed up, donned our snowshoes, and hit the trail by 10:45. Betty had a lot of trouble with her snowshoe harness again. We had a nice uphill to start with, then we dropped down to a creek, following which we had a long steady uphill for about three kilometers. Once we reached the top Betty asked for a break, as she was still having problems with her snowshoes. They were far too large for her. She could not walk properly with them, especially up steep hills pulling a toboggan. We decided to take our lunch break while she was setting up another pair of snowshoes. We were sitting in brilliant sunshine again, with our trail deeply incised,, standing out in bold relief as it led back down the long hill. It was a great sight, which really added to the atmosphere as we ate our lunch.

We started back on the trail after lunch, and were immediately treated to an even more beautiful sight. There was a bend in the cutline just past our lunch stop, with a steep dip just past the bend. Those of us in the rear just stood and watched as the leaders went down, then climbed the other side. The clear blue sky, the narrow cutline between the tall spruce trees, the unbroken expanse of snow, shimmering in the bright light, and the party of brightly clad snowshoers breaking through the crust to leave a distinct track all combined to paint a very pretty picture. We just stood and drank in the sight for several minutes before we continued on our way. We had another tough uphill to climb, then we dropped down a short slope. Tannis, who was in the lead, saw a moose; the rest of us saw its tracks.

At this point we had the "Killer Ridge" ahead of us, so named due to the large number of livestock and people who had perished there during the Klondike Gold Rush. We had to help each other pull our toboggans up, as it was extremely steep. Then there was one more downhill, quite a steep one, following which we wound our way up a more gentle incline until we encountered a road. This marked the end of our short-lived wilderness experience.

We continued along the ditch as long as we could, but finally had to take off our snowshoes and walk along the road. We were however given one last reminder of how wild this land still was. As we pulled our toboggans up

the road we saw a huge cat track. It must have been a lynx, or an even larger cat, as its stride was well over one meter long. A short time later we were at the base of the firetower, at the very top of Deer Mountain. Ava, Jane, Bob and I immediately climbed the tower, to get a better view of the surrounding countryside. We could clearly see our back trail, and the land to the northwest, toward Swan Hills and Lesser Slave Lake.

Bob wanted to continue along the Klondike Trail as far as possible, but after perusing the maps, we decided that it was just not worth it. Our maps showed the entire country to the north and west as being covered with oil lease roads and there were sure to be more recently built roads as well. We decided to set up camp on top of the mountain, right where we were, and to have a rest day while we were waiting for our pickup vehicle. Everyone could do whatever they wanted for one more day. Those who wanted a big push could go for it, while anyone who wanted to just rest was welcome to do that.

There was almost a full moon after supper, so Lana, Ava, Suzanna, Tannis and I climbed the firetower to look out over the expanse of snow. While we were there we were treated to an awesome display of Northern Lights, the best I have ever seen. The colourful lights were dancing all over the sky for over an hour. We all agreed that this was a great finale to our trip, a real display of celestial fireworks.

On our last rest day we were very much in pursuit of individual goals. Doug, who had been very withdrawn the previous evening, headed out first, to circle Deer Mountain to the north and west. Next off was Pat, who planned to just sit by herself somewhere in the forest and write. Kathy and Betty headed off to the base of the firetower, where they spent the day, to sit and chat and catch up on their logbooks. Bob also headed up there, and I followed a little later, as I also had more observations to record. Ava went off for a hike back down the Chalmers Trail to the south, while Suzanna, Lana and Tannis took empty toboggans back down the steep ridge we had climbed the day before. Jane stayed by the fire to dry out her perpetually wet mocassins, after which she also went tobogganing.

Our day off was quite pleasant; everyone did what they wanted to. Doug surprised me not a bit by going off on his own. He went for a good long hike around the north and west of Deer Mountain, coming back up Chalmers Trail from the south. He must have had a really good experience, as he was laughing and joking at the fire in the evening. Apparently some of the needs he was having problems with earlier were fulfilled during his strenuous solo hike.

Pat also went off on her own. She had planned on just finding a nice spot to sit and write, but ended up getting into the flow of travelling, and never stopped

moving all day. Pat had become very familiar with the natural environment through her field studies; she now recognised so many plants and knew their uses. Perhaps more importantly she had simply spent so much time out there on her own looking for specimens that she felt at home. She was very relaxed and mellow upon her return.

Ava also went off for a solo hike. She went down the Chalmers Trail for a while, but found it to be very difficult to follow due to the many roads and cutlines, so she headed off to the south and east. She really seemed to get into the feeling of freedom in the wilderness, in just being there, ready to enjoy whatever came up, rather than looking for any specific results. She proved to be a very independent person, although she also worked well within the group context.

Jane dried her mocassins, then she went tobogganing. She was definitely attracted to the physical challenge and the thrill components of wilderness travel. She was especially happy with the last two days: the struggle up the hills, the beauty of the scenery, and the thrills of downhill tobogganing.

Lana also went tobogganing, as she obviously enjoyed the fun in wilderness travel, but even more so the total experience. She seemed to become one with her natural environment, moving very comfortably within it.

Tannis went tobogganing as well, but it was less for the thrills than it was for the social interaction. Upon

her return I asked her how she had liked tobogganing and she responded: "Oh yes it was nice, nice being with Suzanna. Oh yeah, the hills were nice too." The hills were added as an afterthought; her primary interest was in the companionship.

Kathy stayed near camp. She was there to be with Betty first, but stayed on her own after. She seemed to be motivated primarily by social interaction, although she demonstrated a strong achievement component on the day she pulled Doug's toboggan.

Betty spent the day at the firetower, and in camp, organising food for supper. She seemed to be motivated primarily by the desire to organise, to put her world in order, which may be easier to achieve in wilderness than in civilisation. She was also very people oriented, spending considerable time socialising throughout.

Suzanna went tobogganing for the thrill of it, as she had a strong funloving component, but she had an even stronger aesthetic awareness. She always saw the beauty in her surroundings, never failing to comment on how pretty things were, or sketching that which she found to be the most appealing.

Bob was without a doubt challenge and achievement oriented, being primarily concerned with the physical effort inherent to wilderness travel. His social skills were also quite strong. Bob was the one who initiated and conducted many of the group debriefings.

CHAPTER 8

INDIVIDUAL EXPECTATIONS OF A WILDERNESS TRAVEL EXPERIENCE

The purpose of this chapter was to describe the groupings of expectations participants had of a specific wilderness travel experience. To this end this chapter further elaborated on the ten travellers illustrated in the ethnographic account of the Klondike Trail snowshoe expedition (Chapter 7). The actions and expressions most characteristic of each individual during the snowshoe expedition were of particular interest, as were their expectations prior to engaging in the expedition, and their evaluations of the experience upon completion thereof. The information compiled through the observation of individual expressions and actions during the expedition was combined with the participants' own perceptions of their expectations prior to and upon completion of the wilderness travel experience. This data base was then utilised to create a profile specific to each of the subjects. These profiles represented the groupings of expectations most characteristic of each participant's experience.

The first section of each profile was essentially comprised of a behaviour description of each of the participants. The description of each individual's actions and expressions was indicative of his or her expectations of this specific experience, as the actions one is motivated to perform are considered to be

embodiments of one's most important expectations (Abscher and Lee, 1981). An "A Day In The Life" format was utilised to describe the subjects' most characteristic experiences during the course of the snowshoe expedition, as recorded by the participant observer travelling with the group. This section contained information compiled on the trail, during informal discussions, in camp, during debriefings, and in the subjects' personal logbooks of the experience.

A second section of each participant's profile was based on information on individual expectations gathered through a questionnaire (Appendix 1) administered prior to participation in the snowshoe expedition, and an interview (Appendix 2) conducted upon completion of the Explorations program. The information compiled through these two instruments was used to provide an overview of the development of each individual's expectations between signing up for the program in early April and the actual participation in the expedition the following February. The purpose of this section was to enrich the information compiled during the ethnographic section, by adding the subjects' own perceptions of their expectations of the expedition, and their evaluations of the experience upon completion thereof. The participants' composite descriptions were then utilised to illustrate groupings of expectations characteristic of each of the individuals taking part in this particular wilderness experience.

A Day In The Life Of Bob

Lana and I got up early and headed north then west to find Chalmers Trail about 1 to 1.5 miles from our cutline. We found what looked like an old trail, a bit wider, but grown in and quite bendy and unused with some deadfalls on it. We then returned to meet the group back at the cutline. There Lana and I heard a moose or a bear so we moved toward it. It kept making a big belching noise, so we got scared and waited for the group. Later we thought that it must have been a moose and calf, because we found their lay holes in the snow.

We all put on our snowshoes and headed north for a few miles, this time having to break our very own trail in fresh snow. I really loved to get off of the beaten track and on to cutlines that no one had been on yet this winter, except for moose and deer. It felt great to get out front and choose my own path and break trail for the others. It meant the only other item we still depended on in our travels was the cutline. I really wasn't aware of the cutline because it was so old and the snow was so deep that it seemed we were moving through untravelled country. Only us and the wild, a few birds, lots of tracks, many trees and blue sky. It isn't the ultimate wild but I feel it's as close as we are going to get on this trip. Even other signs of mankind on our travels so far seemed to break down that feeling that we are all seeking, to be on our own in the wild.

Today was great, and I'm thankful for the chance to even be on this trail, and to feel this freedom from outside intervention. I guess this type of trail is one which matches that of my expectations, to be in a wilderness setting, isolated from the luxuries I am accustomed to. To be away from that which I have depended on for so long, those things that I take for granted, really challenges me to have to explore in a new environment. To have no trail means to have no choice for us but to try to live in closer contact with the environment. This is what I really seek, the hardships that would make us have to react to a dynamic and challenging environment. I really hope that this trail is like this all the way to Deer Mountain and nature gives us a taste of the wild and rough challenge to make us feel like we have performed a task of some value.

The hills were a bit of a grunt, especially the ravine, which was very steep. I was the leader today, so I had no toboggan; I just broke trail and helped out on the hills. I tried to help people as much as I could on the hills, and let them alone if I thought they could make it on their own with a bit of sweat.

I guess the high was today, more than anything else on the trip. To get to break trail and have no paths to follow, other than moose, deer and mouse tracks, and to have the choice of where to step and to break the snow crust with each crunch on each step.

The low would be not letting others have the same chance to be out front for a while, to share in this task.

I hope the rest of the trip will be as great as today, even if it means we are as tired each night as we were tonight. Being tired (to me) means we tried, the two, tired and tried, go hand in hand, I think.

An Overview of Bob's Expectations

Prior to joining Explorations Bob had not had a great deal of experience in winter camping, non in extended tripping. He had based his expectations primarily on discussions with the previous year's Explorations members, most of whom were his very good friends. He had created a mental image of an experience replicating that of the Buffalo Narrows to Fort McMurray snowshoe expedition. His earliest expectations he described as being to "find his limits. To lead a caveman lifestyle", characterised by extreme effort. "A real grunt through a tough environment, just living through the cold."

Between the time when he first signed up for Explorations in April and the fall canoe trip Bob took part in a one month outdoor education course. This course stressed interpersonal relations even more than physical skills. Bob was exposed to a great deal of experiential learning of outdoor skills, as well as to the "people skills", such as group dynamics and

leadership styles. He felt the effect this experience had on him was in focusing his attention more on his fellow travellers, thereby diminishing his need to personally experience a strong physical push.

His expectations of the canoe trip were however still to "experience wind and water, lots of whitewater, some hard and long days, some form of challenge." He hoped that some challenge would arise to draw the group together, to serve as "something we've been through together". In retrospect Bob felt he had enjoyed the Cascades incident more than any other on the trip. This was very much in keeping with his pre-trip expectations, as this was a "really scary" episode, where several members narrowly escaped a life threatening situation.

The Cascades were a series of three ledges, the first two of which were quite small at that water level. The last was about two feet high at the left bank, increasing steadily to about nine feet at the right bank. Two canoes were swept over this ledge about three hundred meters from the right bank, where the water was about eight feet deep. Three of the four canoeists were temporarily caught in the large "keeper" below the ledge. One of them was washed up and down for about five minutes, while one canoe was tossed in the air, spun around and submerged for about ten minutes before it was finally discharged. The group was treated to the sight of the canoe flipping around while they were assembling

at the foot of the waterfall. The fully loaded canoe did six enders, disappearing completely to then be shot straight up into the air with such force that the entire eighteen foot six inch craft was at least four feet out of the water.

In the face of this imposing backdrop Bob conducted an impromptu debriefing, which was very well received by the group. The four swimmers, once they had changed into dry clothing, recounted their experiences in as much detail as they could. Then the conditions that had led to this near disaster were analysed, with the leadership format we had been following particularly coming under scrutiny.

The general consensus was that we had been lulled into a feeling of "cockiness", of overconfidence, due to the fact that we had experienced no really significant whitewater to date. The Grand Rapids had been awe inspiring, but even there we had managed to paddle most of the east channel. Since the Grand Rapids we had stopped to scout a number of class III and IV rapids, none of which had proven very difficult to navigate. We had started to look for the best whitewater in the respective rapids, rather than scout the safest route, to inject some excitement into the otherwise quite easy trip. We had even become guilty of catching up to our respective lead canoes, sometimes even momentarily passing them as we played in the waves.

The "leader of the day" we had instituted was also not very effective, as it seemed too artificial. One member assumed the role of leader each day, so that everyone had the opportunity to select routes and make the important group decisions for the day. Several group members however had no desire to lead, only going along with the format so as to give those that wanted it the opportunity to enjoy this experience.

It was difficult to assert any very directive form of leadership under the circumstances. There was also a strong feeling of "going for it" within the group, which resulted in the leader of the day being pressured to conduct very cursory scouting sessions. The end effect was that we had been caught near the middle of the river, which is a good mile wide at that point, when we should have been hugging the left bank. We had stopped on the left bank to scout the first two ledges, which were very easily navigable, then we had drifted toward river right to take in the standing waves there. The lead canoe disappeared before anyone was aware of the upcoming ledge, a second one went over while attempting to rescue the first. After some very exciting moments everyone escaped from the foot of the ledge safely, losing only several shoes and one contact lens in the process. We were most fortunate that no one was injured or drowned, and everyone agreed that it was a tremendous learning experience as it were [illegible]

Bob conducted an excellent group debriefing, focusing attention on the important issues, making sure everyone was consulted. It was small wonder that he would have remembered this incident as having been the most enjoyable moment of the expedition. It contained all the elements he had been looking for. It was a truly life threatening situation where everyone had to pull together to survive. The whitewater was there in a nine foot wall of water, as was the physical challenge in unloading a canoe and dragging it over the ~~ten foot cliff.~~ Then there was the teamwork necessary to get the canoe down and onto the water to launch it as a rescue boat. All his pre-trip trip expectations were met during one concentrated moment, to which was added the opportunity to practice his newest area of interest, group relations.

The Cascades incident marked the first time Bob had been "really scared in the outdoors", with his fear focusing on the safety of the others. He felt that this caused his focus to shift even more toward the social group, further minimizing his need to overcome physical and environmental challenges . The group meetings during the fall term he however found to be "lots of frustration for myself and others; how to waste time as a group." He felt that the considerable amount of time spent on the identification of goals and objectives was wasted, as group and individual expectations were still not clearly

Immediately prior to the snowshoe expedition Bob anticipated his greatest enjoyment as coming from "watching the people live, with others and in the situation." His secondary focus centered around "being able to survive, doing it on our own, to just live out there meeting the challenges." While Bob was on the snowshoe expedition he was definitely seeking a strong challenge component. He hoped to face physical and environmental hardships that would allow him to rise to the occasion, to overcome them through a concerted effort on his part. He did in fact spend considerable time working in the social group, with the red ossiered dogwood "Hockey Night in Canada" ringette game being his single most enjoyable moment. The obvious effect was however one of searching for challenges to overcome, as indicated in his "Day in the Life" account. His actions were accompanied by quotes such as "what I want to see is lots of snow and cold so that we have more survival time" and "the best time I had was in grade 11 when we went winter camping. We spent the whole time just working to try to be comfortable. As you learn more you have to face stronger challenges to maintain that feeling." His most enjoyable time of all was climbing through the tough, rugged country up Deer Mountain, where the environment was wild and powerful enough to present him with a real challenge. There he was finally able to

In looking back over the entire program Bob felt that for him the central theme in wilderness travel was one of the "power of nature; something which you take for granted, but which becomes real when you are in it." The "majesty of nature" was also an important part of his wilderness experiences. For Bob experiencing wilderness was to face the power of nature, travelling through an unknown, majestic environment without the many aids which make life in "civilised" settings so comfortable. His primary expectation of wilderness travel was to face extreme physical and environmental challenges, and to overcome them as a group in order to establish a strong bond between the group members.

A Day In The Life Of Betty

I was one of the first ones up today. It was crisp out this morning; I was happy I had packed my extra sweater at the top of my pack. It was good to see that our group was working together better, everyone was getting more organized. Doug still seems to be quite withdrawn, I will have to try to talk with him to see what is bothering him. His actions are causing some friction in the group. I am quite disappointed in the way he is handling the situation. Oh well I'm sure it will work out in the end. It's just that I have to see

It wasn't my cook day today, but I helped out anyway, because I knew where all the things were. It's too bad the big pot was burned yesterday, it is going to be hard for us to cook enough noodles tomorrow night without it. Maybe we will be able to get it fixed up by then. If not I guess we can split things up a bit and use Thursday's rice instead, but I hate to change the menu. It was bad enough that Pat went and changed it yesterday. I was only gone for about fifteen minutes; I could have given her a hand finding the right food bag when I got back. I spent a lot of time planning our menu so that our nutritional requirements would be met each day, so I really don't like to see things changed. I guess that was my low yesterday, coming back and seeing Pat cooking up that chicken and rice. It really defeats the purpose of menu planning when people don't stick to it.

Anyway, I don't want to carry on about it. It turned out to be a great day. The sun was shining and everyone was happy. We had an early start, so we were able to take quite a long lunch break. It felt great to just sit in the sun and soak it up. I had a chance to talk to Doug at lunch time, to see what was bothering him. He didn't really seem to want to open up too much; he just said there was no real problem. I could see there was one though, he wasn't even [illegible] with his buddy Bob which is was a result of [illegible] the night

judgemental. I could understand his point; we would be on the trail faster in the morning if everyone had their things organized better at night. My own things are usually in good shape, but I guess we all could still improve. I think everyone is getting better though, our camp set up was the quickest yet tonight. I think it just takes a little while for everyone to get to know each other, so that we can work together as a team.

It was nice to get together with Kathy after supper. We haven't really had a chance to talk at all. That seems to be a problem with travelling along a snowmobile track, everyone is always spread out single file. We didn't really talk much tonight either, we were too busy laughing at Bob and Tannis. They sure had some good stories going. I gave Tannis a hand cleaning up the cook gear and packing it away. I don't really think it will snow, but I would hate to lose anything if it did.

Well, it was another good day. We were up and on the trail early and had a good morning travelling. The weather was great, almost too warm for snowshoeing again, although it did cool off toward the evening. We weren't really sure about whether we should keep going along that cutline or not, but we got together and figured it out. Everyone was involved in the final decision, with a

An Overview of Betty's Expectations

Betty's original expectations of Explorations were that she would be engaging in some form of wilderness travel, preferably something unique. She felt that the appeal of the program was in that it was to be structured entirely by the participants. She was disappointed when the group decided to do the traditional canoe, snowshoe and ski expeditions, but quickly adjusted to become a dominant figure during the fall planning sessions. Her primary early expectation, that she would be engaging in some form of wilderness travel, was quite vague, easily fulfilled by a wide variety of experiences.

Betty felt that her expectations had changed in accordance with the development of group objectives between April and the fall canoe trip. There did not however seem to be any appreciable change in her objectives, which were to "just get out on the river", with her primary emotion on arriving at the trailhead being that she was "happy to be getting there". She did however have some concerns, primarily that she had not had a chance to be involved in the planning process. She also felt that she did not know enough about the skills of the other paddlers, and that she was not part of any team, as there had not been any real group building.

During the canoe trip Betty found that she became totally wrapped up in the environment, in the land and the water. Some of her most enjoyable moments were spent playing in the rapids, especially the rock garden leading into Grand Rapids. She felt that the very best thing about the trip was getting to know her fellow travellers better, both individually and as a group.

Between the canoe and the snowshoe trips Betty began to stand out in the group meetings. The rest of the group perceived her as being one of the two primary decision makers at that time. She felt that the meetings were characterised by too many disagreements, by "too much talking, not enough actual planning or action." She however considered the many meetings to be an integral part of the group building process, and saw important group decisions beginning to emerge from them.

Betty volunteered to be responsible for the menu planning for the snowshoe expedition. One of her concerns during the canoe trip had been that she had not really been involved in the planning process; for the snowshoe expedition she wanted to know exactly what was planned for sustenance for each day.

Immediately prior to the snowshoe expedition Betty's only concern was that the food she had planned would

skills, to be out of the city, with its mechanical time schedule, and to complete the trip safely. Attributes of wilderness travel she selected as being the most appealing were, in order of importance: that life is simple, that physical activity becomes a way of life, and that a sense of timelessness develops. She expected to learn new things, secure in the knowledge that the expedition was well planned and organised. The most important item, the food, she had taken care of herself.

The snowshoe expedition was characterised by less uncertainty than the canoe trip, as Betty was much more involved in the essential planning. During this expedition she expected to enjoy herself snowshoeing in an isolated area, concentrating on the manner in which the group was functioning. She became involved in the social activities, closely monitoring the evolution of the group. Her empathy for the others was obvious and she was skilled in social interaction. Her primary focus however seemed to be on the organization of the camp, which same she did every free moment. She was recognised as being the principle "organizer" in the group. From the first day out, where "everyone took off to gather materials, while Kathy and I stayed behind to clean up the camp", her high was "just being here and helping with

turned at the fire". Her actions and expressions during the course of the experience indicated that she was motivated primarily by the desire to establish a highly organized, dependable world, both physically and socially. She seemed to feel this objective was more easily attainable in the relative simplicity of a wilderness style of living, away from the pressures of "the rat race".

A Day In The Life Of Suzanna

I woke up early this morning because the hoar frost was pretty cold. It was so nice out last night that we slept outside. The stars were great. I just couldn't get enough of them, but I guess I must have fallen asleep somewhere along the line. I got up and started moving as fast as I could right away, because of our discussion the night before. If everyone wanted to get quick, efficient starts I sure didn't want to hold anybody up. I raced around, stuffing my sleeping bag, loading my toboggan, and getting set. Then all of a sudden I noticed that I had not even looked at the sun or the sky yet. I was so busy trying to be super efficient that I was losing it. I stopped running around, took a deep breath, checked out the early morning sun breaking on the frost on the

Today we finally got off of the beaten track and started breaking trail--Ye Ha! The snow was great, although I had some trouble with my snowshoes at first. I wasn't the only one though, so I didn't feel too bad. We had a great downhill to our lunch stop, it was sure fun blasting down the trail. I almost ran into the creek, luckily Bob was there to sacrifice his body and stop me. Our lunch stop was really pretty: the steep bank with the overhanging trees, the winding little creek, and the campfire underneath the tall spruce trees. During lunch I was able to just sit there and enjoy the sunshine and the trees. I don't know, some of the guys don't think it is cold enough, but I am kind of enjoying it. If the weather is great why complain? Just enjoy it while you can, we get enough cold days in the winter as it is.

After lunch we set off along a really old cutline. It obviously hadn't been used for quite a while. There were a lot of dead trees lying across it, in some places they were all tangled together. It looked neat, but it was really tough work pulling the toboggans through. Bob, who was our leader, helped a lot, even picking up some trees to move them out of the way. It was pretty tiring work, but it sure was a treat to be in such a beautiful place. The snow was getting deeper, and our tracks were cut in really deep and sharp. The sun angled across them, making a sharp contrast, with one side dark

and the other glistening in the bright light. I wish I could have stopped to draw it, but we were all working really hard just to make some headway so I couldn't even think about it. I did stop to catch my breath a couple of times though, as we were climbing pretty fast. Whenever we stopped I could see quite a bit more of the country around us. There were sure a lot of different colours, even though it was mainly spruce and pine forest. Even these trees had a lot of different shades. Our back trail looked great in the sun, winding down the hill to where it disappeared near the river.

By the time we made it to our camp I was pretty tired, as was everyone else. I think even Bob had enough physical effort today. Our campsite in the trees was very nice, really pretty, with lots of fresh, deep snow. It looked like a herd of strange animals had passed through near our camp though, with big snowshoe tracks heading off all over the place between the trees. I wandered off to where there were no tracks and just sat there for a while, not really looking at anything at all or thinking about anything special. It just felt good to be there among the trees.

It was a beautiful evening. I could just barely see everyone gathered around the fire as dusk settled in. Before going to bed we were treated to some fantastic northern lights, the many colours dancing wildly in front of the backdrop of shining stars.

An Overview Of Suzanna's Expectations

Suzanna's initial objective upon joining Explorations was to become more skilled in the outdoors. She was interested from a personal perspective, not so much as a potential future outdoor leader. Suzanna did not have a great wealth of previous experience upon which to base her early expectations, which, paradoxically, practically assured their fulfilment. Her lack of experience indicated that she would probably learn many skills during the course of the expeditions.

As Suzanna prepared to leave on the canoe trip her most enjoyable anticipation was of the exciting paddling to come; of the many Class IV rapids, and the size of the river. The river she perceived as being "scary and dangerous"; she was unsure whether her ability as a canoeist would suffice to master the many hazards which were sure to arise. In her pre-trip questionnaire she was asked to capture what she felt to be the essence of a wilderness experience by completing a sentence. To "The natural unspoiled wilderness..." she added "inspires many, enlightens others, hypnotises some and kills a few." Suzanna was definitely looking forward to the expedition with some trepidation.

Upon successfully completing the canoe trip Suzanna felt she had enjoyed "meeting people and learning from them" most of all, followed by simply "getting away from the city". These perfectly legitimate motivations were

cast in doubt during the rebuilding of the portage route at Grand Rapids, where the group was involved in a spirited discussion on leadership development. As a result of this discussion Suzanna felt "selfish for being there for personal reasons", starting to look more at a potential career orientation in her day to day activities. She felt this pressure to be there for professional reasons growing during the fall meetings, with much frustration resulting from the discussions centering on peoples' varying levels of commitment. She saw a lot of "unsatisfied people" during the fall term.

Suzanna worked on the route for the snowshoe expedition during the fall planning sessions, which she found to be very exciting. Her primary concerns regarding this expedition were surviving the cold, and the safety of the group, "how to get out in case of accidents." Her greatest anticipated enjoyment was the shared time with "ten great people", and the "beauty around me, which is always made more interesting because it is ever changing". She considered conducting a first hand field study of natural phenomena to be the main purpose of a wilderness experience, followed closely by "becoming part of the beauty of nature".

During the snowshoe expedition[1] Suzanna's actions indicated that she was primarily interested in the beauty of the natural environment. Her aesthetic awareness was exceptional. She was always sketching scenes of natural

beauty, commenting on the beauty of the sunset, or wishing she could paint the clouds rolling in. She also proved to be a very good group member, and learned a number of new skills, but her dominant interest was definitely in the aesthetic appeal of the wilderness. She was constantly expressing her appreciation of the beauty around her, capturing it in sketches wherever possible. Her greatest enjoyment on the trip, next to the sheer excitement of downhill tobogganing, she defined as being "the pace of it"; the relaxed atmosphere that allowed peoples' special interests to be met, including her own growing involvement with the "beauty that I was becoming part of." She defined the dominant theme she saw in wilderness as being "the beauty of isolated areas, where not many people have been."

A Day In The Life Of Doug

Today I got up first, and made pancakes for Bob and Ava, then I started to build a huge fire for the sweat lodge we had planned for later in the day. While I was working I tried to come to grips with the discussion we had late last night. It seems the rest of the group, especially Ava, were very upset with me for a statement I had made during the debriefing the day before. I had been asked for input about the rest of the group, about how I saw everyone else as doing. I had replied that I

thought everyone was coming along fine, but that we could all still be more efficient, that we could do little things at night to get a better start in the morning. I guess it was the "everyone is coming along fine" that set Ava and the others off; they thought I was being pretty judgemental. What was I supposed to say? They asked me and I told them what I thought. It's true, they are all coming along, but I guess that means that I thought they weren't very good to start with or something.

I didn't know what to make of it. Then, while I was working on the fire Betty had to come right over and ask me how I was doing. What was I supposed to say? That I'm really happy? Or that I'm really depressed because everyone misunderstood me? I didn't know what to say, so I just mumbled something and took off into the bush. At least there I know what is happening. This whole experience is getting to be a little bizarre; yeah, that's a good word for it, bizarre. I was wondering about this trip before we ever got started. I don't think I would ever choose to go on a trip with anyone here except for Ingo and Bob and maybe Lana, if it wasn't institutional. Everyone else is okay, but they don't really have much skill, and some of them aren't really fit enough either. Well maybe that isn't too fair, they're all actually pretty strong. Anyway, I'm just happy today is a rest day so I can get away from everyone else to just think this out a bit.

Well at least this is pretty nice country here. I found a really nice spot where the water level behind a beaver dam must have dropped after freezing, because this big sheet of ice was suspended in the air, forming a really neat cave. I also finally found some tinder fungus on this little island across the beaver pond. I've been looking for some since we learned about it way back at Vega Ferry. I'll have to dry it out to see if it will really work as a fire starter.

I spent most of the day wandering around in the bush. Sometimes I would concentrate on where I was going, but most of the time I was pretty much lost in thought. I know that I have to improve my people skills to become a better outdoor leader. My physical and program skills are not bad, but a good leader needs to be well rounded, and obviously has to be able to deal with people. I won't be improving my other skills too much on this trip anyway, not with the program we have, the weather and the others in the group.

I had hoped to improve my interpersonal skills on this trip, but I hadn't expected it to be forced on me like this. I might just be blowing the whole thing out of proportion though, it's not really all that bad. I mean the weather has been great, almost too nice for what we're doing, food has been plentiful, and everyone is really nice. Maybe I should just head back, have a good cleansing steambath, and start all over.

An Overview Of Doug's Expectations

Doug had the most experience in wilderness travel and in outdoor education of anyone on the Explorations team. He saw the expeditions as being "a good way to finish the Physical Education degree, and a good experience in the outdoors." For Doug the explorations program was to be the culmination of a long program of studies in outdoor education, following which he planned to find employment in the outdoors.

Between joining Explorations in April and the fall canoe trip Doug's expectations did not undergo any major changes. The river we planned on paddling was a series of Class IV and V rapids between the awe inspiring Class VI+ Grand Rapids and Fort McMurray, a good choice for a team of strong paddlers. Doug looked forward most of all to "just getting out on a river with some of my peers, some competent people, and paddling some fairly challenging white water." Doug had spent the last three summers teaching canoeing, and had absolutely no concerns about the trip. In retrospect he felt that it was "really enjoyable just getting out on the river, floating downstream, getting together with the group and having everything begin to fall into place."

There had however been two episodes on the canoe expedition that had a significant effect on Doug's experience. The first was the leadership confrontation at Grand Rapids. The Grand Rapids are very dangerous,

paddlers have been perishing there since travel began on the Athabasca River. As we neared the rapids, safety became our primary concern. Doug, who was recognised as being the best paddler in the group, was nominated to lead. The water was flowing very quickly, and we knew that anyone who overshot the portage would be in extreme danger. The sheer cliffs below that point made landing impossible, while the force of the water pounding onto the unavoidable boulders would crush both canoes and paddlers. We all made it safely, with everyone excited about the speed of the water, the many rocks and boulders enroute, and the obvious force of the river ahead.

Working our way through the tricky rock garden leading up to the portage was a high point of the trip for everyone. Later that night, while we were talking about it in our camp on the portage trail, two of the group members brought up the issue of leadership development in the Explorations program. They felt some people, Doug especially, were too involved in the group decision making. The emergence of such a focal point in the group was considered undesirable, as it would stymie the others in their own development as leaders.

Doug was quite surprised by this confrontation. He had merely been having fun travelling down the river, not even thinking about leadership. His focus changed at that point, as he withdrew somewhat from the group process to take on more of an observer status.

The second major incident was the near tragedy at the Cascades ledge. Doug and the others who had earlier been taking on an informal leadership role, were by then no longer speaking up as readily. This may have contributed toward the mishap, as some of the strongest leaders were no longer as actively involved in the decision making process. Whatever the underlying reasons, Doug held himself responsible for the two canoes going over the ledge. He felt he should have spoken up despite having been asked to take a less active leadership role, as he was one of the most experienced paddlers present. The effect this experience had was to make him "look at the river less and the people more." The Cascades and Grand Rapids incidents "combined to make people more important, to make the others in the group more valuable as individuals."

Between the canoe and snowshoe expeditions Doug came close to leaving the Explorations program. He felt he could benefit his career more by "taking on an internship at Enviros", due to a "difference in commitment levels by Explorations members." He was spending a lot of time on explorations activities, while more "city activity oriented members had less focus on outdoor activities, resulting in a difference in group settings." After talking to other outdoor professionals he did stay on with the program, but continued to question the value of the experience.

When we were set to leave on the snowshoe expedition Doug was looking forward to "getting out and getting going, actually doing something as a group." He decided to "concentrate on non-physical areas, still focusing on the task, but more on people." He felt the fall had been a waste of time, and was anxious to start moving. He expected the major impact of outdoor living to be an emphasis on "taking more care, and becoming more reflective." The main purpose of a wilderness travel experience he selected as being "to experience a more natural, authentic style of life," followed closely by "to learn more about oneself." Doug was looking forward to escaping the routine of everyday city life, seeing beautiful scenery, and experiencing adventure outdoors, but his primary focus was inward, on himself as a group member. He planned to "work more as a people person, less as a physical skills person."

During the course of the snowshoe expedition Doug's actions and expressions indicated that he was indeed being very introspective. He was often very withdrawn, his primary interest apparently in learning more about himself, and his reactions to the others. During our first group debriefing he stated "everyone needs to have program, physical and people skills. Right now I'm working on people skills." In a later discussion, he said "what you can give me, what I can learn from you, is how to express my feelings. I'm not good at that."

Doug had originally wanted to face some form of physical challenge, much the same as Bob. Part way through the trip he noticed "people weren't striving to achieve challenge". It seemed as though "it was more of a holiday than an institutional/educational trip." Doug tried to motivate the others to do more, which resulted in nothing but frustration. The others felt he was being too judgemental, with the resulting discussions serving to further alienate him from the group.

Doug was able to partially overcome his frustration "by beginning to accept this is what people are into at this time." He however tended to withdraw more and more, to reflect on his own values and those of the rest of the group. He had expected to learn more about himself, to become more reflective, prior to taking part in the expedition, and found himself concentrating on exactly those areas of interest. The manner in which circumstances were conspiring to ever increasingly focus his attention on introspection was however still a mystery to him. The one word he chose to best describe the snowshoe expedition was "bizarre". All of his actions and expressions on the trail indicated his was a journey into himself, a reflection on his own personal values in comparison with those of the group. A secondary area of interest proved to be the exploration of his physical environment, something concrete he could more easily deal with.

A Day In The Life Of Pat

This morning I packed up really quickly, because I wanted to go down to the bottom of the ravine to see if there was really some fireweed there. I thought I had seen some when we came through late yesterday, but we were all tired and had not set up camp yet, so I couldn't very well stop. Sure enough, when I went back there were some stalks sticking out of the snow on the exposed south bank. I was really in luck; at this time of the year this plant is very hard to find. Now I could mix it up with my willow shoots and cow parsnip to make my latest potion. Then, if I could find a victim, I could test it out. Ha! Fat chance. So far nobody has tried anything, except for some balsam poplar buds that Bob ate when he had that cold. These sceptics would still rather go with Ava and her conventional medicines; they don't seem to realise my remedies have a longer history than hers do, and that they are based on natural, organic matter, not chemicals. I guess I'll have to invoke my powers as "shaman" and put some kind of a spell on her. Then we'll see whether or not these remedies actually work.

Yesterday I had a great day. We covered quite a bit of ground, gaining lots of altitude, so I was able to find a lot of different little ecosystems. Unfortunately the snow has gotten a lot deeper too, so now I can't find any of the smaller plants. Oh well, everyone else is really enjoying the deep snow, and I am too. It's nice

to be wearing the snowshoes and pulling the toboggans through snow that hasn't been packed down by snowmobiles or four wheel drive trucks. The whole atmosphere of our group changed when we made it past the last tracks.

When we stopped for lunch today I read everyone a little story on plant life to make them realise that they are killing off living beings when they cut down those trees for shelters and cooking cranes. It has been bothering me for a while; I finally had to say something. I think they didn't realize what they were doing, and felt a little sheepish when I brought it up. I hope I didn't hurt any feelings.

I really have to figure out a way to dry some of these plants, so that I can preserve some specimens to take with me. I suppose I don't need to worry about it right now, as they will keep until I get back home. I would however like to get these guys to try some of my concoctions, so I will have to dry some things somehow. I know Bob at least would try some kinnikinnik.

I hope nobody gets upset by my frequent stops, but I am sure they would have spoken up by now if that were the case. This keeps getting more and more interesting, every time I go into the bush I find something else. I used to think you could only find plants in the summer, I would never have believed there were so many things available in the wintertime. This trip has already been well worth it for me just because I now know so much more

about plants that can be found all year long. I will never again think of winter as being a "barren" time of year.

We stopped for lunch on a high ridge, where I went for a walk back into the forest a short distance. It's funny, I don't even worry about getting away from the trail anymore, either. I used to stick close to someone, or something, all the time, but now I have been spending so much time out here that I just don't even think about it any more. I just go ahead and take off. I think it's just great. After supper tonight I will have to go to collect some poplar buds and rose hips. Bob has a cold, and I think I can get him to try this sore throat remedy, especially if I boil it up with some peppermint.

An Overview Of Pat's Expectations

Pat's original expectations of the Explorations program were that she would be part of a really good program, "planning our own education", and that she would experience "a hard physical challenge, especially cold weather." She had not had a great deal of experience in the outdoors prior to Explorations, except for university courses, but she did spend the summer planting trees. During the summer she began to see some of the "realities of living outdoors", with her initial "high ideals" concerning wilderness diminishing somewhat.

Pat had spent the entire summer outdoors, so she felt quite comfortable in her natural environment prior to the canoe trip. She was looking forward most of all to getting to know the rest of the team, and to improving her paddling skills. Pat, much like Doug, experienced a change in focus after the discussion on leadership, beginning to concentrate more on "why we were there", rather than just enjoying the experience. In retrospect she felt that she had fulfilled both of her major expectations, with the most enjoyable aspect of the trip being "seeing everyone, and getting to know people."

As the group geared up to the snowshoe expedition Pat also felt that "some people didn't seem interested enough", and came close to leaving Explorations. She was "expecting really difficult travel", and did not see everyone preparing properly. The communications workshop which the group attended got things back on track, after which everyone was set to leave on the snowshoe trip.

Pat's expectations immediately prior to leaving were that it was going to be "a tough time, with a strong physical and environmental challenge." She was sure that she would be "picking up physical skills" in the performance of the day to day activities. She thought the experience would make her "tougher, better able to cope with cold temperatures, few luxuries, and be able to do physical work better." Her greatest anticipated enjoyment however derived from just "being outside 24

hours a day, learning about the outdoor environment." She selected the main purposes of a wilderness travel experience as being "to experience a more natural, authentic style of life", and "to conduct a first hand study of natural phenomena."

While Pat was on the trail, her major interest was definitely in a study of the environment. She spent every spare moment in the bush identifying and selecting plants, which she then attempted to process into a variety of concoctions. She had a book on native remedies, which she would try to create whenever she was able to find all the necessary ingredients. Pat was the "medicine woman", the "shaman", or the "witchdoctor" to the rest of the group, a reputation which she helped along with statements like "I hope someone gets sick soon so I can try out some of these remedies." Whenever she had any free time she would be off somewhere in the bush, returning with her pack full of specimens, or with tales of all the different plants she had spotted.

Pat had been expecting a good first hand learning experience. On the trail she proved to be the epitome of a field student, immersing herself totally into her subject matter, the wilderness. In retrospect she felt that her most enjoyable memories were of being the "witchdoctor" for the rest of the group, and of "the pace of the experience," with the resultant "low pressured learning" which took place.

A Day In The Life Of Kathy

Today we had a good early start, after camping in this barren muskeg. I was leading last night, when we got into this old burn area. It really looked desolate and there was not much firewood for us at night. We were travelling up this cutline to the north, picking our way from snow patch to snow patch, and missed our turn to the west. We stopped and I went back to check it out. I could feel a lot of pressure from the group. Everyone was getting tired, and we had come to a dead stop. I hate these situations, I really don't like to make snap decisions. I would much rather discuss things so everyone can have some input. I wasn't sure exactly what we should do, but people sort of started to backtrack, and headed west toward a little lake where everyone started to set up camp. I was happy it turned out that way, so I did not have to tell people what they should do. I hate being put on the spot like that.

Anyway it worked out just fine. We had a good talk, with everyone telling me what they thought about my leading for the day. It was all pretty positive, except for the very end the day, where people thought I wasn't directive enough. Then we sat around our fire and I had a real good time talking with Suzanna. She is a funny girl, really interesting.

Today we travelled without any real problem, except that we ended up on a road for a while. We got into a

dead end in the afternoon, the cutline we were on just quit. We did not have a leader today. I thought this was better, because I felt comfortable bringing up suggestions. Everyone else had ideas too, so we were able to discuss it instead of one person having to tell everyone else what to do.

After we set up camp we all gathered around the fire and had a really good time getting to know each other a little better. There are some very interesting people on this trip. We ended up having an informal debriefing, which I like better anyway. I would rather just talk with people than follow some kind of a format. I felt a little awkward, especially with Doug, because he is so much more skilled than I am. I asked him how I could contribute to his experience, because I think each member should always be able to give something to everyone else in the group. He made me feel pretty good, by saying he could learn a lot from me about being in touch with and expressing his feelings.

I got to know some of the people a lot better today. My knee was hurting quite badly, but I didn't want to let anyone know. Ava figured it out right away though, she is very empathetic. She wanted to take my toboggan, but I wouldn't let her because I wanted to pull my own share of the load. She is a very nice person. It was her birthday today, so I helped make a cheesecake for her. She was sure surprised; I felt really good about that.

It was really nice out again tonight, so we all sat around the campfire after supper, first to eat the cheesecake, then just to get to know each other. Boy, some of these people are sure quiet. It takes them a while to talk at all, but once they get started it's not so bad. I guess it just takes someone to break the ice, which I have always been good at. I found out some interesting things. Jane has done a lot of hunting, and Suzanna is quite an artist. Bob is a total joker, he is calling Pat the "Medicine Woman" for this trip. I wanted to spend more time at the fire to get to talk with some of the others too, but we finally had to call it a night. I'm sure happy it's so warm out, otherwise we could never sit outside for so long and get to know each other better.

An Overview Of Kathy's Expectations

Kathy expected to be involved in a structured, guided learning experience when she first joined Explorations. She had very little outdoor experience except for university courses, and felt that the expeditions would be a "key to getting experience and leadership skills." Between joining up in April and the fall canoe trip her expectations changed considerably, as she became aware that "learning might be best out there." She hoped to increase her paddling and navigational skills, and was concerned about the safety of the group.

Kathy's concerns about the river, about whether she and the rest of the paddlers were skilled enough to be on such a dangerous a stretch, were reflected in her memories of the expedition. She felt that having "made it through" was the most significant experience of all, resulting in an increased feeling of confidence in her skills. While she enjoyed having completed the route safely, her fondest memories were of the camaraderie enroute, the process of "getting together and getting to know people better." Kathy felt that she began to look at why she was involved, at the significance of the Explorations program, in more detail as a result of the leadership discussion at Grand Rapids, with group dynamics continuing to be her primary interest.

During the fall term Kathy experienced the same frustration that seemed to have affected most of the team members. The differences in opinions and expectations that were becoming apparent, and her own concern of "being up to par" physically, made her wonder whether or not she should continue. The communications workshop was a definite turning point for Kathy; she remembers it as being "great, a very positive experience." She really came into her own at the workshop, proving to be a very skilful communicator.

Having made it through this difficult time Kathy was concerned with "just getting out and doing it" by the time we were set to leave on the snowshoe expedition.

She expressed some doubts about whether everyone else's expectations would be met, and about her ability to cope with the "physical demands...hills and loaded toboggans", and the potentially "extremely harsh conditions." She anticipated deriving the most enjoyment from "being outside...enjoying living and travelling in a natural environment, the group interaction, and learning more about myself and others."

For Kathy the snowshoe expedition was a very unique experience. She did not have any previous similar experiences to base her expectations on, but felt that she would grow as an individual from this intense involvement with the outdoors. She hoped to learn more about herself and the others, and also to learn from the other group members. Kathy expected to gain physical skills during the expedition through intense experiential learning, although she had come to realise this experience was "not going to make me into an outdoor leader," that it would be just one component in her development. She felt that having an intense experience in nature, challenging herself, and practising physical skills were the most appealing components of wilderness travel, followed by sharing with others, just being together with friends.

During the snowshoe expedition Kathy's primary focus was on the shared group experience. Her most enjoyable memory was "the people, the different personalities and

how we got together. Just being out there with everyone for sixteen days." Her actions and expressions clearly indicated that she was most interested in the social element, in talking and interacting with everyone else in the group. She was quite proficient in interpersonal skills, good at drawing others into discussions. She did not like to take charge, even when she was leading; she was more into discussing things, arriving at consensus decisions.

Kathy rated sharing with others as only her fourth priority before leaving on the expedition, but it was definitely her primary focus on the trail. Quotes such as "I found getting together with everyone up on the hill tonight was great," and "I could have talked all night, everyone was so interesting" accompanied her actions. Most of her free time was spent near the camp, engaged in conversation with one or more of the group members. Her one word description of the experience was "unique--a very special group of people, I am happy to know you all." While she felt a need to improve her skill level, her primary motivation seemed to be involvement in the camaraderie characteristic of a wilderness travel group. She saw the dominant theme in wilderness travel as being "something you don't do by yourself. There is a people focus in sharing and working together." Her expertise in social skills definitely added to the feeling of empathy that developed within this particular travel group.

A Day In The Life Of Jane

Today we finally got away from the travelled cutlines; everyone had to stop to put on their snowshoes. I already had mine on since yesterday, because I had been pulling my toboggan through the deeper snow in the ditch for the fun of it. I helped some of the others put theirs on, then we headed out into a real wilderness setting. Well, we were still on a cutline, but it was so old and overgrown that it seemed like it was just an old trail. I didn't get much out of the experience so far, except for the nice weather and the people I have been with. I've spent a lot of time travelling cutlines hunting in Saskatchewan, that's not really what I came out here for. Today was just great though. It was really wild country, with some steep hills, lots of deadfall, and deep snow. I powered out on a couple of steep sections, but we all helped each other out over the toughest parts. That was great, I really liked the way we worked together as a team. I was looking forward to this, some really hard wilderness travel, away from all the sights and sounds of civilization.

We worked our way up the trail, with Bob going up and down the group helping out wherever it was needed. I was happy that he didn't try to help me too often, but sometimes I just started spinning out in the deep snow with my snowshoes, and then his assistance was sure appreciated. We kept on pushing up the trail, until we

stopped for lunch. I had to reload my toboggan anyway, because a rope had broken, so I jumped on my empty toboggan and whipped back down the steepest part of the trail a couple of times during the lunch break. That was sure fun. I think that made my day as much as the wilderness did. I don't know which was better, except that I can always find a hill to go down, while there is not that much isolated wilderness around. It was hard to stop playing on the hill but I had go back to eat. It would never do to lose my reputation as our group's biggest eater.

After lunch we had a pretty steady climb for most of the rest of the day. I guess this was the Killer Ridge we had heard so much about. I could see how it would be hard on horses in the hot summer. It was very steep so we were all tired by the time we reached the top.

Just before we got to our campsite for the night we had a really steep little ravine to go through. It was great. I got in front of my toboggan and couldn't move fast enough on my snowshoes, so I ended up being run right over. The snow was really deep and soft, so I didn't get hurt at all. It was hilarious. The other side was really steep, so we had to take turns pulling and pushing the toboggans up one at a time. Everyone seemed to be quite satisfied when we finally made it through to the other side of the ravine, so we set up our camp right afterward.

I wish I could have been up front breaking trail today, but even further back it was still beautiful. I had almost given up hope that we were going to experience real wilderness on this trip. I was even ready to go for it and try to make it up Chalmers Trail yesterday, but that would have been impossible with our toboggans.

This was a great day, it has made my entire trip. I just wish we were starting our trip today instead of being almost finished. I am really not looking forward to going back. I would like to spend a whole year out here travelling like this sometime, then I could really get to know the environment in all the seasons.

An Overview Of Jane's Expectations

Jane had a good deal of wilderness travel experience prior to her involvement in Explorations. For her this was to be just "another out trip ", although she was "unsure of the component parts." She was somewhat concerned about her paddling skills, but was anticipating "paddling and being out there." She enjoyed the time spent at Grand Rapids most of all, "exploring, going to the island, and picking our way through the rock garden." She did not see a major change in her focus during the canoe trip, except perhaps for a greater degree of safety consciousness following the Cascades incident. The Grand Rapids leadership discussion did not seem to have affected her to any significant degree.

During the fall Jane took a lot of courses at university, so she did not have enough time to really get as involved with the group as she would have liked to. This caused her some concern, as did the major disruption evident in the group just before Christmas. Jane wanted to get all the hassles behind her, she was really looking forward to getting out on the trail. When we were set to leave she anticipated her greatest enjoyment as "just being on snowshoes and working hard." Her only concern was that there "might not be enough snow", which could force the group "to come back earlier than planned."

Jane felt that she would enjoy the beauty of nature and becoming part of that beauty most of all. She felt that this beauty was to a large extent interrelated with the "isolation, the stillness and quiet of remote areas", that being "away from the city" would best allow for appreciation thereof. For Jane the dominant theme in wilderness was "its beauty, its vastness." She also anticipated working hard at pulling the toboggan, in setting up camp, and in using her various wilderness skills. She was looking forward to hard work in a remote, beautiful environment, removed from civilisation.

Jane was always moving on the trail, she gave the impression of always being on the run. Whenever the rest of the group stopped for a moment she would look for the nearest hill to slide down on her toboggan. She was a real bundle of energy, and just could not seem to get

enough action into each day. She was the first to put on her snowshoes, pulling her toboggan along the deep snow in the ditch "for the fun of it" while the rest of the group was still moving along the road. Her actions indicated a strong adventure, challenge orientation; she seemed to be a real thrill seeker. One of her most enjoyable moments was "surfing the toboggans down Deer Mountain on our last rest day."

Jane however demonstrated more than just a challenge orientation. She qualified her statement about enjoying surfing the toboggans with "except it meant our trip was almost over." She further stated that "I'd like to spend a whole year in the bush sometime, that way I could really experience all of the seasons and really live out here." She seemed to feel that wilderness was far more than a mere challenge environment, providing a beautiful setting in which to spend considerable time. She was definitely motivated by the desire to experience nature, and to escape civilisation. She seemed to really enjoy the "down to earth" values associated with wilderness living, as compared to life in "the city." As she put it "people in the city are so money oriented. They save all the time, for what?"

Jane's actions indicated that she was interested primarily in adventure, in exciting challenges involving hard work. She also wanted to leave civilization to become one with the beauty and solitude of nature.

A Day In The Life Of Tannis

Today I was our leader on our way up Deer Mountain. It was a great experience, not the leading so much as the climb up the mountain. I just love being out here. I don't really care to lead too much, but it is my turn, and I'll go along with it. I would just as soon just meander along the trail at my own pace, lost in my own thoughts, without having to lead the way and make decisions. Being in the front does have its benefits though, I was the only one to see the moose when we dipped down the steep little saddle on the Killer Ridge. It heard us and ran away before anyone else could get a look at it. I was really close before it noticed me though, so I got a really good look. It actually scared me, jumping up and running off like that.

We had a good start this morning, after Bob made us all laugh again. He is such a funny guy, and he is always doing such crazy things. We went down toward the creek first, it was great on the way down. I didn't feel too guilty about not pulling a toboggan there, because everyone else was riding on theirs. Betty looked like the "Red Baron" going down the hill with her little ear flaps sticking out. She crashed just like the "Red Baron" too. Everyone had a lot of fun to start the day.

We crossed the frozen river at the bottom, then we started up the long climb, which seemed to go forever. It wasn't too steep, but it just kept going up and up. I

felt so sorry for Betty, because her feet kept slipping in her snowshoes. It was hard work for everyone except for me. I wanted to pull a toboggan too, but they wouldn't let me. I did not think it was fair, but they said that was the rule, the leader doesn't pull, so I just kept breaking trail for everyone. That was sure beautiful. There was not a mark on the snow, then I would step onto it and break it. When I looked back it was so beautiful I just wanted to stop and keep looking, but I had to keep going so I could at least help by breaking trail. The view back was just incredible though, the long winding trail, with ~~its~~ deep track cut by the toboggans, the wide valley behind it, with the river making its way down it, and all of my friends pulling their toboggans up the trail toward me. The sun was so bright it hurt the eyes when I looked back.

There are so many special people in this group. Today you could really see it again, everyone was helping each other out so well. Nobody was complaining for a minute, although they must have been feeling the strain. Every once in a while everyone just stopped, then they looked back the way we had come. Just to look over the country we travelled through and what is ahead of us was thrilling. The country was very beautiful. I was happy that we were able to experience this together, so much beauty to travel through, and such good people to travel with. It was really a shame that we were so close to

finishing up our journey. I would have liked to spend a lot more time with these people, I felt like I was just getting to know them.

We stopped for lunch near the top of the first long climb, so Betty could change her snowshoes. After lunch we had some very tough uphills, and some really fast downhills. The downhills were quite short though, as we were getting closer to the top of the mountain. I felt really guilty watching everyone work so hard on those steep hills. I helped everyone as much as I could by running up and down pushing stuck toboggans. We all kept working hard, and finally got to the top of the mountain. It felt great to be at the top, except we were on roads again. It was really beautiful, but I felt sad too because I knew it was almost over, and our great group would be breaking up again once we were back in the city.

An Overview of Tannis' Expectations

Tannis' earliest expectations of the Explorations program were that she would "meet new people and learn a lot during extended trips." She had no really specific expectations, as she had no extensive background in wilderness travel on which to base such expectations. Her experience consisted mainly of courses taken at the university, although she had spent considerable time living in rural settings.

Tannis did not take part in the canoe expedition, as she was not yet part of the program at that time. She felt that there were too many meetings during the fall, as she could feel the frustration building in the others. At this time she was just "excited about getting out there and tripping for a long time." As the snowshoe expedition drew nearer she was looking forward to "just being out there, not knowing about the weather or anything." Her main concerns were that the team would be "able to bear the cold," and that there would be enough snow to travel with the toboggans.

Immediately prior to departure Tannis had some more specific expectations of the snowshoe expedition. She felt that she would enjoy "sitting by the campfire and getting to know everyone better" most of all, followed by "getting to understand nature." She considered one of the most important attributes of wilderness to be "just the environment, how it is. Everything is there, no one would know if you weren't." One of the most important reasons she could think of for engaging in wilderness travel was "to live with a group of people for an extended period, like a little tribe, living and travelling day to day." Tannis was hoping to learn more about herself through the recreation of an earlier life style, complete with all the associated hardships. She felt that she would especially enjoy interacting with the travel group during the course of the experience.

Tannis had considered the social aspect of wilderness travel to be of primary importance. During the course of her travels her actions and expressions definitely supported this conviction. She proved to be very empathetic, always ready to assist others, with a helping hand or just a smile. Even in this group of very friendly people she stood out as being especially cheerful. The rest of the group dubbed her "The Princess of Onoway" for this reason. She never had a cross word for anybody. The only time she seemed really concerned about anything during the entire trip was when she was not pulling a load during her day as leader. She seemed to feel very badly about the way everyone else was working so hard while she was just moving herself up the mountain, and went out of her way to help everyone over the toughest sections of the trail.

Tannis had indicated that experiencing the beauty of nature was only a fourth priority for her, after learning more about herself, experiencing a more natural, authentic style of life, and rediscovering past travellers' experiences. While she was on the trail however she impressed with her aesthetic awareness, which was on a par with that of Suzanna, although she did not sketch as much. She was always stopping to take in a variety of settings, commenting on how beautiful they were. Statements such as "the sky was cloudless and a brilliant blue", "the pine trees stood out beautifully

against the blue sky," and "the country is very beautiful" were prevalent in her everyday speech. Upon completing the expedition she felt that the dominant theme in wilderness was the beauty all around the traveller.

One of Tannis' most obvious characteristics was the word "beeyootifool", which she used very often. For Tannis everything was always "beeyootifool", nothing seemed to be able to shake her equanimity. She was very concerned about her fellow travellers, stating that she was "very lucky to know the people in this group; they are very special people and beautiful souls." She especially felt that "all of the kindness and friendship shown within the group was very touching."

Tannis'actions and expressions enroute indicated that she was motivated by a balance between the aesthetics of the wilderness setting and the companionship of the travel group. Her favourite expression, "beeyootiful", was applied to both the physical environment and her fellow travellers. She was also interested in the recreation of an earlier lifestyle and in learning more about herself, as she had indicated in her pre-trip questionnaire, as well as in just becoming "in tune with nature." These factors however were apparently not nearly as important to her as the beauty of the environment and her travel companions, which were quite obviously her focal points during the expedition.

A Day In The Life Of Lana

Today we woke up near the trapper's cabin at the beginning of Chalmers Trail. I was really looking forward to getting onto the trail, away from all these roads, and the noises. We had never yet gotten away from the oil well sounds. The constant background noise really detracted from the wilderness experience, even more so than the roads. When the roads were out of sight they were out of mind, whereas the noise was all-pervasive. The only thing worse was when we met those trucks, I somehow felt we had been invaded, that they had encroached on our personal space.

During our debriefing the second night out I had said that I was not in pursuit of any particular wilderness, that I was happy just being outdoors. It had now become apparent that these signs of man's presence were bothering me after all. I had come out here to experience the wilderness, to get away from civilization, and it seemed to be following me.

We finally got away from all that on the Chalmers Trail. The trappers had said to keep to the high ground. Following their directions we headed off along the ridge. This was more like it, I finally felt like I was getting away from it. I had enjoyed being outdoors so far, but it really hadn't been very "wildernessy", not like this wild ridge we were following uphill and downhill. It felt great; we were on this narrow trail,

between high spruce and pine trees, pulling our toboggans up steep little hills, and sliding back down the other sides. Unfortunately there was not very much snow. Anywhere the sun came through it was melted away, and we had to drag the toboggans over the bare trail. This was hard work, especially since the bare patches were mostly on the uphill slopes due to their southern exposure, but that was okay. It was a natural hazard, not a man-made one. Walking along that ridge, separated from the outside world by the towering trees over top, I was finally able to feel that I had escaped civilization. For the rest of the day we continued along the trail, keeping to the high ground, occasionally dipping down to the level of the creek below.

Jane was our leader today. She was obviously enjoying the experience too. She was running up and down each hill, helping everyone pull their toboggans up. What a bundle of energy. We were all into it though. Everyone is a lot happier than two days earlier, when we were still travelling along the road.

The trapper travelled along this portion of the trail occasionally, which is why it was still open. He had warned us that we would only be able to follow it to the end of his trapline, after which it became a four wheel drive track again. For the time being I just enjoyed the feeling of moving along this narrow ridge. I could feel us all pulling together, focusing on our common goal.

We followed the trail until it bisected a cutline, high up on the ridge, where we had our lunch in the sun. Everyone had obviously enjoyed the morning, there were satisfied smiles on all our faces. After lunch we continued along the ridge for another hour, then it levelled off to the cutline junction that marked the end of the trapper's territory and also the end of the trail. We stopped under the huge moosehead we had been told to look for, and took group pictures. We all recognized the significance of the moment; we had finally experienced a short stretch of trail removed from the constant incursion of civilization. I hoped we could continue in this manner, that the rest of the trail would be wild enough that no human traffic would be visible, but not so grown in with trees that we would not be able to navigate it with our toboggans.

An Overview Of Lana's Expectations

Lana had considerable experience in wilderness travel prior to joining the Explorations program. Her initial expectations were that it would be "a people experience, learning about and from other people, not too much of a challenge thing." She felt that the canoe expedition would allow her to "learn more about paddling", she expected it to be "more of going on a trip than leadership." As the trip drew nearer she was looking forward to "getting together and pulling it off."

Lana was looking-forward to "being on a river for an extended period, the rapids, and just being in the wilderness" immediately prior to the trip. In retrospect she felt that she had enjoyed "just being out there and getting to know people better", as well as "feeling more confident in whitewater." The leadership discussion at Grand Rapids had resulted in her becoming more leadership oriented. She found herself taking on tasks such as river reading more than before, accepting "more feeling of responsibility as a leader." She began to think more about herself as a leader, which in turn led to a greater feeling of self confidence.

During the fall Lana was as affected by the problems within the group as everyone else had been. She stated that she "almost didn't go, there was just too much hassle, and too much distraction with people talking about quitting." She felt that the communications workshop served to bring everyone back together again. As everything began to fall into place her expectations of the experience came into focus more. She expected that there would be an extreme environmental challenge, with very cold temperatures which the group would have to survive. Lana was concerned that there might not be enough snow, so that the team might have to return early. She also had "visions of lots of roads", and found herself "wondering about what kind of a wilderness experience it would be."

Lana's primary expectation of the snowshoe expedition was that it would serve to release stress and tension. The main purpose of a wilderness experience she selected as being "to experience a more natural, authentic style of life", to which she added in her own words "to get away from pressures, get out of my own little world." She selected "escaping the routine of everyday life" and "escaping the demands of other people" as her two primary reasons for liking wilderness travel. She felt that "calming my nerves and relieving stress" was the greatest effect that living outdoors would have on her.

During the snowshoe expedition Lana impressed most of all with the easy manner in which she became part of the natural environment. She entered into the "flow" of the outdoors very comfortably, seeming totally at home from the outset. The dominant theme in wilderness for Lana was "the freshness, being so aware of the elements, always knowing what its like out." The one thing that seemed to upset her was any sign of human activity, especially the sounds of the oil wells. As she put it, "we can always hear the oil well sounds...it's a piss off; it takes away from the wilderness experience." The sounds were more of a problem than the roads, as they were all-pervasive, whereas the roads could be ignored if she didn't happen to be on one. The greatest incursion into her experience was however by the two pick up trucks we encountered; she felt "invaded by, the trucks."

Lana was a very skilled outdoor person, and also proved to be a very good group member. She was on a par with Kathy in conventional social skills, while she was probably the best in reading people and in drawing them out if they were experiencing any difficulty. Her being in tune with the outdoors seemed to apply to the travel group as well; she was as good at seeing when someone was having trouble as she was at noticing incursions into her "wilderness". She really enjoyed the times around the campfire, the good group feeling that emerged, of which she was such an important part.

All of the expectations Lana identified as being important to her indicated that she was seeking an experience where she could relax and live life fully as part of her natural environment. Her actions and expressions while she was on the trail indicated that she was very relaxed in the outdoor environment, especially when the environment became more "wildernessy", as she put it. She seemed capable of experiencing wilderness more completely than anyone else on the expeditions. Her primary expectation of wilderness travel was that she would be able to relax and enjoy nature, removed from the stress and tension of everyday life in the city. Her easy familiarity with her natural environment indicated that she was able to fulfil this expectation, although she, quite predictably, experienced some difficulty if there were too many obvious signs of human activity.

A Day In The Life Of Ava

I was really looking forward to this. We had been climbing steadily for the past few days, and could see Deer Mountain off to the northwest. We had even spent the night in relative cold in our first really deep snow; the increasing elevation was making itself felt.

Bob and Lana took off early, to scout for Chalmers Trail, and to see if it is at all navigable, which I doubt. They were going to meet us down the cutline a ways, so we broke camp, and prepared ourselves for our departure. Packing up is getting easier each day, as the routine becomes established. I was still hoping for some really cold weather and deep snow, not for any particular challenge, just to practice life skills in a harsher environment. I was quite prepared to enjoy this great weather in the meantime. Why not? We don't get this kind of a winter very often...you have to go with the elements. I wasn't about to lose any sleep over it like some of the guys, but I was still hoping to experience life in a less hospitable environment.

I quickly loaded, helped out with some of the group gear, and we hit the trail. We were still on snowmobile tracks, but there were a lot less. We were steadily distancing ourselves from the last real signs of civlization as we moved into the rugged draw country leading up to Deer Mountain. We had not travelled more than one kilometer before the snowmobile track petered

out, and we donned our snowshoes for the first time. Some of us had difficulty adjusting our snowshoes, which was to be expected as we had no previous practice.

Once we were ready we started off, with Bob breaking trail. This was more like it. The snow was much deeper, and the cutline quickly narrowed down. At first the snowshoes felt a little strange, but we soon started moving right along. Our first test was a 50 meter climb over about 300 meters, not too bad of an incline. Then it was a sudden drop back down to creek level, almost straight down. Now we could see why the snowmobiles stopped where they did. We rode down, experiential learning at its best; those of us who learned to use our snowshoes as rudders made it, the others tipped or hit the creek. Instant feedback. Some took their snowshoes off during lunch, but I kept mine on while I was moving around so as to familiarise myself more with them.

After lunch we moved out, following this considerably wilder cutline across the valley, where we made a sharp bend to the west, and immediately started uphill. I would have preferred to do some snowshoeing on the level before attempting the steep hills we could now see in front of us, but we had no choice in the matter. With our fearless leader Bob breaking trail we started up the slope, picking our way around, over, and underneath the deadfall that was cluttering up the trail. We were now definitely in an untracked area.

For the next several hours we fought our way up this steep trail. It was a cutline, but you could only tell that by the fact it was straight and did not follow any of the contours. The far rougher country we were now travelling through quickly made itself felt. Those who had wanted a physical challenge now had all they could ask for. We slowly worked our way up, picking our way around the many obstacles enroute. We finally made it to the top, and turned around to enjoy the panorama behind us. That is what I have always liked about wilderness travel, you are so independent, and your rewards are often so immediate. One more steep ravine to cross, and we were at our campsite for the night.

What a great day! I think we learned something about travel on snowshoes too; it felt like we were floating on top of the snow, at least it did while we were on the flats. On the steep uphills it was quite hard work, but enjoyable nonetheless, once we learned how to dig our toes in over the foot piece. Those of us who did not have the snowshoes properly attached quickly ran into trouble, and were forced to take them off and tie the harnesses anew. By the time we made it up the steep hills to our campsite everyone was quite proficient on their snowshoes. I hope we will have the same kind of an experience tomorrow; one more day of this form of travel will make the learning process that much better. I would like to know I can work with snowshoes anytime I want to.

An Overview Of Ava's Expectations

Ava had experienced quite a lot of outdoor activity prior to her involvement with Explorations, mainly in the form of outdoor pursuits. She did not however have any experience in extended wilderness tripping. Her initial expectations were that "it would be great spending time out in the wilderness", "counting on ourselves to get through." She hoped to build her self confidence in leading others by learning and/or practising skills during the course of the expeditions. She was "looking forward to all of it", a total experience of wilderness immersion, during which necessary outdoor skills would be routinely practised.

Ava did have some concerns about the canoe trip, as she was unsure about her ability in really difficult whitewater. She was especially apprehensive about the Grand Rapids. In retrospect she felt that one of her most enjoyable experiences was paddling upriver from the Grand Rapids, and then crossing the river to put up the warning sign on the left bank. "Ferrying across the river above the rapids was a great confidence builder", as was the knowledge that she could paddle upstream. She also very much enjoyed the excitement of picking her way through the rock garden to the portage route, and ferrying back and forth to the island. She felt that the canoe trip had provided her with a good challenge, and the opportunity to master that challenge.

Ava was the group leader the day after the Cascades incident, and found that she was overcautious. She was very hesitant in continuing down the river, and scouted every upcoming rapid in great detail. This was however to be expected, as the Cascades could have easily claimed the lives of several of the group members. Being an overcautious leader following such an incident would be preferable to being overconfident. By the end of the canoe trip Ava was once again quite confident, although the Cascades incident was to remain a valuable learning experience for her.

Between the fall canoe trip and the snowshoe expedition Ava's expectations did not change much. She especially looked forward to being totally self sufficient, and to seeing how she would handle the cold. She hoped to be able to "learn to cope with the cold so well that no one in any group I am with will ever get frostbite." She expected to derive the greatest enjoyment from "being outside; meeting the challenge physically, psychologically and warmly; learning more; and being one with the outdoors, relying on yourself to get where you want to go."

Ava selected as the main purpose in wilderness travel "to experience a more natural, authentic style of life", followed by "becoming a part of the beauty of nature" and "conducting a first hand study of natural phenomena." She stressed that for her such a study would be informal,

unofficial in nature. The reason she would like to take part in a wilderness experience she selected as being "for the love of adventure", with her second choice being "for the challenge of whitewater/rugged terrain."

Ava was expecting an experience where she would become immersed in a beautiful natural environment, pursuing a style of living in which she would be in charge of her own destiny. She expected to learn many skills due to the intensity of such a lifestyle, not as the result of any formalized learning experience. She further expected this wilderness experience to contain a significant adventure component, where she would be given the opportunity to master some form of challenge. Above all else Ava expected to get in tune with the natural environment; she felt that all of her other expectations would be fulfilled if she were to become completely immersed into wilderness living.

During the course of the snowshoe expedition Ava was able to experience nature on an intimate basis. She felt she had been "let down by the cutlines", but definitely enjoyed the Chalmers trail and Deer Mountain sections of the route. Ava demonstrated a very good ability to become one with her environment, almost on a par with Lana. She was a quick learner, and practised divergent thought from the very first day on the trail, where she put her toboggan harness on backwards. This strange

new technique however proved to be very comfortable; everyone was soon wearing their harnesses backwards to better utilise the padding in the hipbelt.

Throughout the expedition Ava impressed with her ability to work within the group while maintaining a very distinct personal space. She was always willing to have fun, surfing her toboggan with the others who were so inclined on rest days, while she also went off on her own for extended hikes. She seemed very happy whenever she returned from such a solo jaunt, her only concern being that it was never cold enough to practice any real cold weather living skills.

Her need for personal autonomy was perhaps best demonstrated by the incident involving Doug, where he had stated that he felt everyone was coming along well in their skills. Ava mulled it over for a day, then confronted Doug, as she felt he was being too judgemental in his statement. She considered everyone as being a valuable contributing member of the group in his or her own right, as everyone had unique qualities that the others could benefit from. Doug seemed to be focusing attention on the physical skills alone, which really bothered Ava, attacking not only her personal feeling of individuality and strength within the group but that of the other members as well. It is interesting that she stood up for these rights, whereas she never forced any other confrontation during the expeditions.

Ava's primary concerns were to experience nature, to become fully immersed into the wilderness environment. She felt that she would enjoy an experience characterised by great personal autonomy within the group. She wished to develop her outdoor living skills, but felt that this would occur without any special emphasis through the pursuit of a natural style of life. Her experience, except for the lack of any real cold, was exactly what she had expected. She was able to become immersed into the natural environment, thereby practising many skills, while she maintained considerable personal freedom within the group. Her own evaluation of the expedition was "all in all it was a very enjoyable experience and I certainly learned a lot."

Summary

Ten people took part in the Klondike Trail snowshoe expedition. The actions and expressions characteristic of each of these ten individuals' experiences were recorded by a participant observer travelling with the group. A questionnaire was administered to determine the participants' expectations prior to the expedition, while an interview conducted after completion of the experience provided an evaluation of the expedition. The compiled information was then amalgamated to create composite descriptions for each of the individuals taking part in

the Explorations program. The resultant composite descriptions were then utilised to illustrate groupings of expectations characteristic of the participants on this particular wilderness travel experience. These expectations were as follows:

1) Bob's primary expectation of this wilderness travel experience was that nature would present him with an extreme physical or environmental challenge, which he would have to strive to overcome. This challenge would ideally emanate from nature's immense power, occurring while travelling through a majestic wilderness setting. Bob would prefer to face the challenge as part of a group, due to the tremendous bond that forms within a group which has joined forces to overcome a formidable outside threat, but he would also be willing to accept challenges on his own.

2) Betty's primary expectation was that this wilderness travel experience would provide her with the opportunity to create a very dependable, highly organised world. The dependability she was striving for would apply to the physical setting as well as to the social group. She expected to put considerable effort into creating this organised world, but felt it would be easier to both structure and monitor the social and physical environment in the relative simplicity of wilderness settings, isolated from the less predictable "rat race" of civilisation.

3) Suzanna's primary expectation of this wilderness travel experience was that she would become part of the beauty of nature. She also felt that becoming in tune with nature and the resultant skill acquisition were important, as were the camaraderie within the travel group and the sheer fun of activities such as downhill tobogganing. The aesthetic appeal of natural settings, particularly isolated wilderness, was however without a doubt her primary attraction to wilderness travel.

4) Doug's primary expectation of this wilderness travel experience was that he would learn more about himself. He expected to become reflective, learning more about himself in relation to the others in the travel group. He balanced this out somewhat with a secondary focus on the exploration of his physical environment, but his wilderness experience was primarily a journey into himself, characterised by periods of very intense introspection.

5) Pat's primary expectation of this wilderness travel experience was that she would learn more about nature through an intense field studies approach. She was the very epitome of a field student, spending every spare moment in the bush examining, identifying and selecting plants, which she then processed into a variety of concoctions. She also expected to learn physical skills and to become tougher, but she was first and foremost a field student learning about natural phenomena.

6) Kathy's primary expectation of this wilderness travel experience was that she would enjoy the camaraderie of the social group, of becoming part of the shared group experience. Prior to embarking on this expedition she felt that becoming a part of nature, learning physical skills and facing challenges were very important to her, but her actions, expressions and reflections all indicated that she was primarily interested in the social interaction of the wilderness travel experience. Kathy was without a doubt there for the social, sharing aspect of wilderness travel.

7) Jane's primary expectation of this wilderness travel experience was that she would experience challenge from a fun, thrill seeking perspective. While she was obviously interested in the adventure inherent to wilderness travel, going out of her way to enjoy thrills such as downhill tobogganing, she also very much enjoyed the hard work, the physical effort inherent to wilderness travel. In addition to this strong challenge component she also exhibited a very strong belief that she would become a part of the solitude and beauty of nature, removed from contact with civilisation. Her appreciation of the beauty and isolation of wilderness settings may have been just as strong as her more obvious enjoyment of the physical challenges. She was not very vocal, but she spoke with very deep conviction about the value of wilderness as opposed to city life.

8) Tannis' primary expectation of this wilderness travel experience was twofold, a balance between appreciating the beauty of nature and interacting with the social group. She was constantly commenting on the beauty of various aspects of the natural setting, while she was also very concerned about her fellow travellers. Prior to the expedition she had indicated an interest in learning skills and becoming in tune with nature, but her primary focus on the trail was definitely on the wilderness and her companions. For Tannis both the environment and the travel group were "beeyootifool".

9) Lana's primary expectation of this wilderness travel experience was that she would escape the stress and tension of city life. Her primary focus was on the pursuit of a lifestyle characterised by a lack of the tensions she associated with civilisation. She was obviously experienced in wilderness travel, becoming very relaxed within the natural environment, enjoying a great feeling of immersion into nature.

10) Ava's primary expectation of this wilderness travel experience was that she would become one with nature, experiencing the natural environment fully. She expected to face challenges and learn skills, but felt this would occur automatically as she became immersed into the wilderness. Ava was also very interested in personal autonomy, in the feeling of independence, of freedom she associated with self-propelled wilderness travel.

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION

This study set out to examine the expectations people might have of wilderness travel. The initial focus was on the underlying perceptions people have of wilderness, particularly the Canadian wilderness, as more concise experience expectations would be based on such perceptions. In the literature and art reviewed, the Canadian environment was seen to enjoy the position of representing the ideal "romantic wilderness", especially on the international stage. People planning on travelling within the Canadian wilderness would base their initial expectations on their perceptions of the qualities considered as being characteristic of this unique environment. This would refer primarily to the vast, wide open spaces, the "immeasurable immensity" of the land (Frye, 1971), and the all powerful elements, especially the cold, that dominate life within it.

It was interesting to note that all of the subjects in this study initially felt that they would be facing severe physical and climactic challenges in their travels. They all felt that they would have to struggle to survive extremely cold temperatures as well as fight their way through deep snow and rugged terrain during the course of the snowshoe expedition. These perceptions were very much in keeping with the qualities ascribed to the "ideal" Canadian wilderness.

The initial expectations that the participants in the 1983/84 Explorations program voiced appeared to be based on the same romantic perceptions of the Canadian wilderness that its international reputation had been built on. These perceptions were quite valid, as most winter expeditions in Canada could expect to face cold temperatures, deep snow, tough travelling conditions and great distances, depending on the route chosen, but they were not concise enough to be examined in any detail.

The primary purpose of this study was to describe the expectations that people's actions during the course of a wilderness travel experience might be indicative of. In the initial stage a participant observer accompanied a group of wilderness travellers in order to record their actions and expressions. The participant observer kept a detailed record of the day to day activities of the group members. This record is written up in Chapter 7, "The Ethnography of a Wilderness Travel Group". The actions specific to each participant were then isolated, to create an account of "A Day In The Life" of each group member. These accounts give a good indication of possible expectations of wilderness travel as they focus exclusively on the actions and expressions most characteristic of each individual's experience. The "Day in the Life" accounts may be viewed in detail in the preceding chapter, where they represent the first step in the development of the individual profiles.

The observer added information the participants had recorded in their logbooks to his own observations in the creation of the "Day in the Life" accounts. The addition of this information added to the detail with which the individual perspectives developing within the group could be reported. Some of the logbooks were very concise, and did not contain much in the way of descriptive information that could be added to the base supplied by the records of the participant observer. Some were however quite extensive, especially Bob's, which provided a great deal of the detail apparent in his "Day in the Life" account.

The view of the participant observer was to be considered the most objective in the event of disparity between his records and those of the participants, but no problems arose in this respect. Bob's account of his day leading the group up Deer Mountain was an excellent summary of the records kept by the participant observer. The participants' most characteristic expressions found their way into their "Day in the Life" accounts to make them more personal, more reflective of their own description of their experiences, with Bob's account being almost a verbatim report out of his logbook.

The logbooks kept by the participant observer and the participants themselves were further supplemented by two sources: a questionnaire (Appendix 1) administered prior to embarking on the snowshoe expedition, and an interview

[Appendix 2) conducted upon completing the expeditions. Both the questionnaire and the interview added great depth to the information compiled on each participant, as they indicated how each individual's expectations had evolved between the initial exposure to the explorations program and the completion of the snowshoe expedition. This background information was a great asset in the understanding and description of each participant's expectations. The questionnaire and interview responses were not examined until the "Day in the Life" accounts had been created, in order to maintain as much objectivity as possible on the part of the observer.

People's earliest expectations, leading up to the canoe trip, were generally quite vague, which was to be expected. Many of the group members were quite new at wilderness travel, and could not be expected to have clear pictures of what the experience was to be like. The early expectations therefore only served as a base line to demonstrate how each individual's expectations evolved from their earliest perceptions. Lana however showed tremendous insight by recording that she felt the Explorations would be "less challenge, more people oriented" when she first joined the program in April. Lana was one of the most experienced members in the group, she had a greater experiential base to draw on in developing her expectations. As the program progressed the others' expectations also became more concise.

The expectations recorded immediately prior to the snowshoe expedition were quite valid, and were for the most part fulfilled. The one notable exception was the weather, and the lack of wilderness for the early part of the journey. Even Lana and Doug were surprised by the unseasonably warm weather experienced during the snowshoe expedition. The anticipated cold weather never did materialise. The lack of cold weather, and the incursion of roads, cutlines and oil well sounds into the early portion of the "wilderness" experience represented the only universal discrepancies between the participants' expectations and the actual experience as it unfolded.

The expectations the participants indicated as being most important were generally supported by the records kept by the participant observer. A detailed account was presented in the second phase of the preceding chapter. The responses to the questionnaire and interview were examined in detail, and combined with the "Day in the Life" accounts to present a more in depth picture of each person's developing expectations and experiences.

One member who immediately came to mind as having recorded expectations incompatible with the actions observed was Kathy. She was primarily involved in the shared group experience, whereas she had felt that would be only her fourth priority. She thought that she would be more interested in becoming a part of nature, learning physical skills, and facing challenges than in social

interaction, while she was observed to be primarily involved in interacting with the social group, almost to the exclusion of any other activities.

The observations and records must however be kept in perspective. Kathy did not have much prior experience in the outdoors, whereas some of the others were veteran wilderness travellers. Kathy may in fact have been experiencing a challenge, learning physical skills and becoming in tune with nature to a greater extent than she ever had before, which would make her expectations quite valid. Her actions did not support this contention, but then she would have had to have been quite the bush person to be as in tune with her environment as Lana, Ava or Pat were. The observations kept on each individual were as objective as could be, but it was not possible to totally avoid any comparison between group members. From a comparative perspective Kathy was definitely the group "socialite", spending the vast majority of her time in or near camp interacting with her companions. In retrospect she concurred with this assessment, stating that the shared group experience represented her most enjoyable memory of the expedition.

Bob also experienced some difficulty with his primary expectation, that he would be facing extreme physical and environmental challenges. All of the others had similar expectations, but they were not as rigidly formed as Bob's. The others were able to adapt, becoming quite

comfortable in the warm, easy environment, whereas Bob never really did. His need for a greater challenge than he was experiencing came up constantly during informal discussions, and in every debriefing. The strong push up the "Killer Ridge" to Deer Mountain saved the experience for him, as he was finally able to enjoy the difficult physical challenge he was seeking.

Bob experienced some difficulty adjusting his expectations to meet the realities of the situation, but he was able to shift a considerable amount of his energy to monitoring the social group. Doug was the one who exhibited the greatest problems of anyone in adjusting to the actual experience. He had originally hoped for a "Buffalo Narrows" experience much the same as Bob had, but had given up on that early in the program. He had not expected a very difficult physical experience, after having taken the nature of the group into consideration, but he still experienced considerable disharmony.

Doug alienated himself somewhat and experienced great difficulty finding his way back into the group. His primary expectation of the experience was however that he would learn more about himself through introspection, so he may not have minded being a bit of a loner. Everyone else was concerned about him, and attempted to help him back in, but he seemed to need some time on his own. His expectations regarding reflective time were fulfilled, but at a risk to his remaining a functional group member.

Tannis and Suzanna both had expected to spend considerable energy learning skills, but seemed to become totally caught up in the aesthetic appeal of the wilderness setting. Both still learned a lot of new skills, but most of their energy went toward the beauty of the environment. This was however in keeping with their expectations, as both had indicated a strong interest in becoming a part of the beauty around them. Tannis also was very interested in social interaction, achieving a balance between the appreciation of her companions and her environment, while Suzanna's secondary focus was on escaping the stress of city life.

Ava, Pat, Jane and Lana all experienced no really significant change in their expectations, except for the lack of an environmental challenge. They all proved to be flexible outdoor people, with the ability to take the situation as it was presented to them and enjoy it. Lana had some difficulty with the many incursions into her wilderness during the first few days, as her primary expectation was to escape from civilisation, while Jane had some trouble with the lack of a real challenge, but both had no problem enjoying the experience as it was. Lana spent some solo time in the bush each day, while Jane created her own challenge by finding extra hills to ride on her toboggan. Pat was totally immersed in her field studies, as she had expected to be, while Ava was feeling free to enjoy anything that came her way.

The participants' primary expectations of the wilderness travel experience were identified through the actions recorded by the participant observer, combined with the information gleaned from the interviews and the questionnaires. Profiles specific to each participant emerged, with a number of different expectations of the wilderness travel experience becoming apparent within the group. The range of desired experiences was quite surprising, considering the size and homogeneity of the group. At this stage of the study it seemed appropriate to compare the categories of expectations emerging from the field study with those which had become apparent in the related literature.

The review of the motivational literature began with a brief overview of Maslow's five broad levels of needs, followed by a review of the literature relating to recreational experiences in general, and culminated with an examination of literature on motivations to recreate in wilderness settings. The focus of the review was primarily on the examination of a wide variety of factor analytic studies conducted on motivations to recreate. A detailed account of the literature reviewed was presented in Chapter 5, the "Motivations to Travel in Wilderness Settings."

In examining the studies on motives to recreate it quickly became apparent that the component parts of the diverse array of factors identified were very similar.

The comparison of a number of studies indicated that almost all of the needs met through recreation in general were clustered into four main groups. These were the needs for: Achievement, Learning/Experiencing ~~Nature~~, Stress Release/Solitude, and Companionship. The names attached to these clusters of needs varied, but closer examination of the components contained within each cluster indicated a great deal of commonality between all of the studies reviewed.

A review of literature on motivations to recreate in wilderness indicated that there were six clusters of needs seen as being specific to the wilderness setting, in addition to the four found to be characteristic of recreation in general. These were: Aesthetic/Symbolic, Dependability, Mystery, Exploration, Introspection, and Autonomy. The six groups of needs identified as being specific to the wilderness may of course also be fulfilled in other settings, but the literature reviewed considered them to be especially characteristic of wilderness experiences. The six wilderness specific clusters of needs added to the four applicable to recreation in any setting explained most of the potential expectations people might have of wilderness travel. The ten resultant motivational domains were:

1-Learning/Experiencing Nature-that one will become involved with nature, learning more about nature, and oneself in relation to nature, in an experiential manner;

2-Stress Release/Solitude-that one will escape the tensions and stress of everyday "civilised" life, to recuperate through an experience involving solitude or privacy;

3-Companionship-that one will share the wilderness experience with others, resulting in a feeling of intimacy with one's companions;

4-Achievement-that one will develop skills, engage in vigorous activity, take personal risks, or face other challenges to achieve a feeling of mastery;

5-Aesthetic/Symbolic-that one will be exposed to aesthetically pleasing, symbolically meaningful or emotional experiences brought on by the beauty and grandeur of the wilderness;

6-Dependability-that one will live in a predictable, normally and socially dependable world for a while;

7-Mystery-that one will become immersed in a mysterious environment, the inner workings of which are unknown;

8-Exploration-that one will venture into unknown areas, see new places, enjoy the feeling of discovery;

9-Introspection-that one will have the opportunity to learn more about oneself and/or oneself within the social group through periods of reflection;

10-Autonomy- that one will be free to do and act as one sees fit, that one will enjoy considerable freedom from external restraints and constraints.

The aforementioned ten factors applied to all of the primary expectations associated with the members of the Explorations program. Bob was seen as expecting primarily an experience characterised by physical or environmental challenge, living without the many items he had come to depend on in everyday life. His obvious focus on challenge indicated that his motivations were drawn primarily from the "achievement" domain. Bob also demonstrated quite a strong inclination toward interaction with the social group, on a formal basis as the facilitator for the group debriefings, but more importantly as a contributor of much humour for the benefit of the others. Bob was apparently also motivated by the "companionship" inherent to group wilderness travel. The overwhelming motivation for wilderness travel that Bob's experience was characterised by was however the pursuit of a strong challenge, with his expectations centering in the "achievement" domain.

Betty spent considerable time and energy each day organising things around the campsite. Her actions and expressions on the trail as well as her questionnaire and interview responses indicated that her motivations were drawn overwhelmingly from the "dependability" domain. She enjoyed the predictable "simple life" characteristic of wilderness living. Her secondary focus was on social interaction, on the monitoring of the social group, with her expectations centering in the "companionship" domain.

There was little question where Suzanna's primary motivations were drawn from. Her every action and expression indicated that her expectations centered in the "aesthetic/symbolic" domain, while she also enjoyed the "companionship" and the "stress release/solitude" characteristic of wilderness travel. She was very aesthetically aware, focusing her energy on the appreciation of the beauty of the wilderness, capturing it in her sketchbook whenever possible.

Doug's experience was characterised by a journey into himself. His motivation was drawn primarily from the "introspection" domain, with his expectations centering in the belief that he would be reflective, learning more about himself and the group process. A secondary area of interest for Doug was the desire to engage in the "exploration" of his physical environment, which he often appeared to combine with his periods of intense personal reflection.

Pat was the very epitome of a field student, learning as much as she possibly could in an experiential manner while passing through the wilderness environment. All of her most characteristic actions and expressions concerned the learning of as much as she could about her natural environment, especially the flora of the areas she was travelling through. Pat's expectations were without a doubt centered firmly in the "learning/experiencing nature" domain.

Kathy's primary area of interest was the social group within the wilderness environment. Considerable time was spent interacting with her companions each day. Her primary motivation was the development of a feeling of intimacy with her fellow travellers; her expectations were definitely centered in the "companionship" domain.

Jane presented an interesting case, as her obvious focus on physical fun seeking served to mask her deep appreciation of the wilderness. Her most readily apparent interest was in the pursuit of a physical, thrill seeking challenge, which would indicate that her expectations were centered in the "achievement" domain, but she seemed to also draw a great deal of motivation from the beauty and isolation of the wilderness. This would indicate that her expectations were to a very significant degree centered in the "aesthetic/symbolic" and "stress release/solitude" domains.

Tannis' experiences indicated that her motivation was drawn primarily from two sources, with no apparent emphasis on one over the other. Her wilderness travel experience was characterised by an appreciation of the beauty of both her physical surroundings and her fellow travellers. For Tannis everything was always beautiful, the "very special people" that made up the travel group, as well as the wilderness itself. Her expectations appeared to be centered in a balance between the "aesthetic/symbolic" and the "companionship" domains.

Lana was motivated primarily by the desire to escape the tensions of city life. Wilderness travel for her was characterised by a feeling of relief, of recuperation and renewal. Lana was a very important group member, making a significant positive impact on the group interaction, but she was first and foremost escaping the tensions of "city life". Her expectations were centered firmly in the "stress release/solitude" domain, with her pursuit of a lifestyle characterised by a lack of tension resulting in a great example of someone fully experiencing nature.

Ava's primary concern was that she would become immersed in the wilderness environment, learning skills necessary for efficient wilderness travel along the way. Her focus was on the freedom to fully enjoy the feeling of travelling in the wilderness, adapting to the varying conditions this environment presented her with. She hoped to learn a lot, but not through any structured form of learning experience. Her expectations were centered in the "learning/experiencing nature" domain, to which she added a strong commitment to "autonomy", the pursuit of personal freedom within the wilderness travel group.

Of the ten domains of motivations to engage in wilderness travel which have emerged from the review of the relevant literature, nine were seen to represent significant motivational constructs for the ten members of this particular travel group. The tenth, "mystery", appears to apply to all wilderness experiences, as long

as one has not become accustomed to the wilderness to the point where familiarity precludes any real feeling of "mystery". This domain may in fact be more indicative of an underlying "romantic" perception of wilderness travel than of any particular area of motivational emphasis. It has however become apparent that people may to a significant degree be motivated by their perceptions of an experience, however vague they may be.

The diversity in expectations apparent within this small, homogenous group of wilderness travellers was noteworthy. Nine of the ten domains were found to be primary motivators for the ten members of this travel group, which is indicative of the range of experiences possible in wilderness group travel. Each participant was seen to be involved in an experience unique to him or her self. The explanation of the individual expectations of this wilderness travel experience through the domains of motivations to engage in wilderness experiences indicated that all of the motives considered as being applicable to wilderness travel may be fulfiled within a very small, tight knit group.

The range of experiences apparent within this group may be indicative of the variety of experiences possible for each individual wilderness traveller. During the course of the expedition each traveller was observed acting out all of the ten motivational domains. The categories identified as applicable to each participant

applied to the dominant thrusts characteristic of that participant, they do not preclude the enjoyment of the fulfilment of other groupings of needs. Doug, while he was being introspective, also spoke about the beauty of the environment. Kathy, while she was definitely focusing on the social interaction, also spent time alone in the wilderness, reflecting on personal values. Betty, who was our primary organiser, enjoyed the impromptu ringette game more than anything else on the entire expedition.

The point to be made is that a range of experiences is possible for each individual within a wilderness travel group, regardless of one's dominant area of interest. A true wilderness travel experience will expose the traveller to the fulfilment of all of the needs which have been identified as being applicable. Wilderness travel may indeed be capable of fulfilling all of man's needs, as indicated in the review of Maslow's work (Chapter 5). The beauty, challenge, intimacy, solitude, stress release, predictability, freedom, mystery, nature involvement, sharing, self awareness and exploration inherent to the wilderness experience are all interrelated. These motive constructs may be pursued individually, but they are all part of the total picture. The essence of wilderness travel is that the participant becomes one with the environment and the group, resulting in a very rich, rewarding experience.

CHAPTER 10

SUMMARY

This study set out to describe the expectations the individuals comprising a specific group of wilderness travellers had of their experience. The first concern was the question of wilderness perception, as one's expectations would be based on one's perceptions of a specific situation. Perceptions of the Canadian wilderness were of particular interest as this was the environment the expeditions took place in, as well as being the attraction that first raised the interest necessary to conduct this study. Canadian literature and art was reviewed to examine these perceptions, and how they may have come into being.

The Canadian wilderness was found to enjoy an ideal reputation both in Canada and abroad; a status in part due to the manner in which it had been portrayed in Canadian art and literature. The main basis for this reputation was however the physical presence of this powerful environment. It had exerted a great impact on the evolution of Canadian culture, which was especially apparent in the art and the literature.

This study next examined the motivations one might have to travel in the wilderness. Man's basic needs, needs to recreate, and needs to recreate specifically in wilderness settings were studied, in that order, to determine the potential needs man might fulfil through

wilderness travel experiences. Wilderness travel was found to challenge and fulfil all five levels of needs basic to man, as postulated by Maslow [1970]. The studies on motivations to recreate which were reviewed indicated that there were four major domains of motivations to engage in recreational experiences. These four domains, "learning/experiencing nature", "stress release/solitude", "achievement" and "companionship" were all found to be fulfilled through wilderness experiences. The studies on motives to recreate specifically in wilderness settings which were reviewed next indicated that another six motive constructs applied to the wilderness. These were "aesthetic/symbolic", "autonomy", "exploration", "dependability", "introspection", and "mystery". The ten categories combined explained all of the most significant reasons one might have to engage in wilderness travel.

The most important section of this study involved the actual observation of a group of wilderness travellers, to determine what their expectations of the experience might be. A participant observer travelled with the group in order to observe their actions and expressions, as their actions were considered to be indicative of their underlying expectations. Questionnaires and interviews augmented the data compiled on the travellers, resulting in a detailed picture of each individual's unique wilderness travel experience.

The expectations characteristic of each traveller were then examined in conjunction with the identified domains of motives. The domains of motives were used to further clarify and explain the individual experiences that were taking place, while the characteristics evolving for each participant also served to lend credibility to the clusters of motives taken from the motivational literature. Each individual was enjoying a unique experience, which was due to varying expectations which were motivating the travellers. The examination of the motivational domains taken from the literature in conjunction with the categories of expectations apparent in the field studies served to enrich both.

The people within the travel group appeared to have quite a diverse array of expectations of the experience. The ten travellers were seen to be engaging in ten unique travel experiences, characterised by nine of the ten motivational constructs which were apparent in the relevant literature. The wilderness travel experience appeared to offer participants a wide range of personal experiences within the travel group.

The categories of expectations characteristic of each of the subjects in this study was applicable only to this particular wilderness travel experience. No attempt was made to apply the findings to other travellers, nor to these particular travellers in a different setting, as the sample was too small to generalise the results.

REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The physical environment I travelled through during the course of the expeditions provided me with a great deal of enjoyment. I really felt good working my way through the deep snow along the river systems during the Buffalo Narrows expedition, with the physical effort required to complete the route providing everyone with a great challenge.

The physical effort however represented only one aspect of the expedition. As I became more familiar with the routine, and with the workings of the natural environment I began to spend more time observing the others within the group. It soon became apparent that a number of varying experiences were taking place. This was especially surprising considering the close knit, homogenous nature of our group. I became quite intrigued, and found my attention focusing less on the natural environment, although I was still very much enjoying the wilderness setting. It soon became apparent that the natural world, despite its mystique, its varying elements, represented a constant while the social environment was in more of a continuous state of flux.

I did not have any special concerns in mind as I began to observe my companions more closely, I was just focusing on another component of the environment that appeared to be interesting. As I continued to watch, I became aware that there were actually quite a range of

experiences taking place. We were still pushing hard to try to cover the required distance each day, but I found myself seeing things I would not have noticed before. I had seen one member hanging back for a while, and had assumed him to be having trouble keeping up. Now I noticed that he was fascinated with things like the beaver dams and lodges. Every time he dropped behind it was because of the time he had spent examining the ways of nature in minute detail. Another member who was always quite brash I now often noticed sitting quietly by himself, apparently lost in thought. He would always be a lot more subdued when he returned from these episodes, although he would soon be his old, joking self again.

It seemed as though I observed something new every time I took the time and effort to closely watch someone's actions for a while. I never made any real conscious decision to begin to study my companions, it just seemed to evolve. I was still very much interested in the natural world, but I began to see things within the group I had not noticed before. As my observational skills improved I became increasingly aware of the variety of experiences that were actually taking place. I found it quite fascinating that such diverse interests as I was now seeing could actually take place within such a small group without causing any real friction. The social environment I was a part of was beginning to be every bit as interesting as the physical.

I continued to enjoy the physical environment as much as ever, finding that I still had my high points during periods of intense physical activity, but the observation of the others I was travelling with became a way of life with me. The observational skills I was beginning to develop were to prove very beneficial to this study.

The present study was not planned in detail before it began to take shape. This was an exploratory study, with several directions for future study becoming apparent. The most obvious would be a replication of the present study, with a larger number of subjects, so that the results could be applied to a wider range of people. The focus could still be the same, with a description of individual expectations, motivations and perceptions being a topic that will never be exhausted as long as people are interested in travelling in wilderness settings. The interaction between these three constructs would in itself be an interesting theoretical study.

One area that would definitely bear further study is the disparate expectations within a travel group. A variance between group members would appear desirable as each member should be enriched by the values the others address, but there would have to be a point where too great a variance would become counter productive, The question that could be examined in this respect is where the line should be drawn in encouraging individual experiences within the group context.

The whole idea of structured group interaction as opposed to more of a free flowing group travel experience would also pose a number of interesting questions. The organised debriefings during the course of the Klondike Trail expedition helped to clear the air, but they also caused considerable tension between some group members. It would be interesting to compare the benefits of structured debriefings with informal sharing sessions around a campfire. Both methods appear to have considerable merit, judging by the experiences which were observed during the course of the expeditions.

There always appears to be quite a discrepancy in the physical challenge group members consider as being optimal. A study on appropriate levels of challenge would be very interesting, as would one with a slightly different focus on exposure to risk. Another aspect of this question would be whether expeditions could be structured to incorporate variable challenge components. A group could possibly split up, with one taking the more arduous route, to meet at a designated point. This way those desiring a strong effort could experience one while the others could take it easy.

One major difference apparent between the Buffalo Narrows and Klondike expeditions was in the time that was spent socialising during the latter compared to the limited opportunities during the first. The whole group focus was very different, which was partly due to the

warmer temperatures, easier travelling conditions, and higher visibility of the social interaction. An interesting question would be how much time should be spent in group building, be it formal or informal, compared to more of a focus on travelling, on the actual physical movement through the wilderness.

The Explorations program has a graduate student assigned to it as a liaison with the university. The impact this individual has on the group may be considerable, depending on the manner in which the role is approached. It would be very interesting to examine the effect different personalities and/or different roles would have on the group. I have always been of the opinion that the group members should be awarded full autonomy in all three stages of the experiences, the planning, the implementation, and the reflection on the journey. In my opinion the graduate assistant should assume the role of an unobtrusive facilitator, to avoid exerting too great an influence on the others. This may however also be the topic of a debate, or a study.

Numerous other studies could be added to those listed. The most important would however be those focusing on why people are taking part. If peoples' expectations are better understood, then programs can be structured to maximise the probability that those expectations may be met.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

WILDERNESS TRAVEL EXPECTATIONS

PRE-TRIP QUESTIONNAIRE

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WILDERNESS TRAVEL EXPECTATIONS

PRE-TRIP QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What effect do you think that living in an outdoor environment will have on you?

2. Please identify and rank order seven features of the wilderness travel experience that you expect to be most beneficial to your outdoor career.

EXPECTATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

3. Please identify and rank order seven features of the wilderness travel experience that you expect to provide you with the most enjoyment. (Some may overlap with #2).

4. Please identify and rank order any aspects of the wilderness travel experience that are causing you some concern or fear.

EXPECTATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

5. Briefly describe your past history in wilderness living and travel; how experienced do you feel that you are?

6. What, if any, aspirations do you have regarding a career in the out of doors, either in the immediate or the more distant future?

7. Please complete the following sentence to best capture what you feel to be the essence of a wilderness experience.

The natural, unspoiled wilderness....

_____

_____

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_____

8. The main purpose, in your opinion, of a wilderness travel experience is: (please rank order)

___ a/ to experience a more natural, authentic style of life.

___ b/ to rediscover, re-experience past traveller's experiences.

___ c/ to learn more about oneself.

___ d/ to conduct a first-hand study of natural phenomena.

___ e/ to become part of the beauty of nature.

___ f/ to enjoy the thrills of risking one's safety.

___ g/ to complete a given route as quickly as possible.

___ h/ other, please specify.

EXPECTATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

9. People take extended wilderness trips for many different reasons. Place a mark beside <u>any</u> statements below which describe important reasons why you like to engage in wilderness travel.

I like to take extended wilderness trips:

___ a/ to see new and different areas.
___ b/ to share the experience with my good friends.
___ c/ to use wilderness living skills.
___ d/ to commemorate an historical event.
___ e/ to escape the routines of everyday life.
___ f/ to see scenery that most other people can't
___ g/ to achieve something worthwhile.
___ h/ to experience the out of doors intensely.
___ i/ to belong to a group of competent, fit wilderness travellers.
___ j/ to be the first to do a particular trip.
___ k/ for the love of adventure.
___ l/ for the historical interest.
___ m/ to see beautiful scenery.
___ n/ to experience and cope with dangerous situations.
___ o/ to experience discomfort.
___ p/ to face the unknown.
___ q/ to prove to myself and others that I can do it.
___ r/ for the challenge of whitewater/rugged terrain.
___ s/ to escape the demands made on me by other people.
___ t/ to meet the challenge of physical endurance.
___ u/ to see wildlife.
___ v/ for other reasons, please specify.

10. Rank your five most important motivations from the list above or others you may consider to be more important.
1st____; 2nd____; 3rd____; 4th____; 5th____.

EXPECTATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

11. Place a check beside any statement which describes features of wilderness travel which are most appealing to you.

___ a/ Decisions have immediate consequences.
___ b/ A worthwhile objective is set and achieved.
___ c/ Comforts to which I am accustomed are lacking.
___ d/ A sense of timelessness developes.
___ e/ Decisions are compelling.
___ f/ The travel party is responsible only for itself.
___ g/ The travel party is independent.
___ h/ Life is simple.
___ i/ It is uncommon to see other people.
___ j/ Physical activity becomes a way of life.
___ k/ There is no sense of urgency.
___ l/ I can be with my friends on a continual basis.
___ m/ I feel as if I am a part of beauty.
___ n/ Consequences of decisions are important only in the short term.
___ o/ Our activities become attuned to the land and weather.
___ p/ Other, please specify.

12. Rank order the five features listed above that are most appealing to you.

1st____; 2nd____; 3rd____; 4th____; 5th____.

13. Thank you for completing this questionnaire. If you have any additional comments regarding your expectations of the upcoming wilderness travel experience, please feel free to record them here.

_____

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APPENDIX 2

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA EXPLORATIONS PROGRAM

POST-TRIP INTERVIEW

APPENDIX 2

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA EXPLORATIONS PROGRAM

POST-TRIP INTERVIEW

1. Name

2. How did you first become aware of the explorations program?

3. What were your initial expectations upon deciding to take part?

4. What changes in expectations did you undergo between signing up in April and the fall canoe trip?

5. Canoe trip
   -what were you looking forward to the most?
   -what were your concerns?
   -in retrospect, what did you actually enjoy the most?
   -What, if any, change in your focus occurred during the trip?

6. What went on in your mind during the period between the canoe trip and the snowshoe trip? (ie. changing expectations).

7. Snowshoe trip
   -what were you looking forward to the most?
   -what were your concerns?
   -what did you actually enjoy the most?
   -what, if any, change in your focus occurred during the trip?

8. Ski Trip
   -what were you looking forward to the most?
   -what were your concerns?
   -what did you actually enjoy the most?
   -what, if any, change in your focus occurred during the trip?

9. What were your emotions upon leaving the van at the beginning of the ski trip?

10. What were your emotions when you had the van in sight at the end of the trip?

11. What specific attributes of the wilderness do you feel had the greatest impact on you during this program?

12. What are the benefits you feel you have gained from this experience? Personal? Professional (for a future outdoor career)?

13. Do you feel you could have received the same benefits with the same impact from an activity other than extended wilderness travel?

14. Did the group have any particular problems during the trips?

15. Did you have any particular problems during the trips?

16. Did you see anyone emerge from the group as an important reference person, as a shaper of the group climate?

17. You were exposed to two different facilitators on your trips. Without really comparing the two, could you describe the ideal role of facilitator for such a program?

18. You were exposed to three quite different wilderness areas during the trips. Could you pick out a dominant theme common to all three?

19. Do you feel having had this experience will affect your future orientation to outdoor activities?

20. What recommendations to improve the program could you give off of the top of your head?